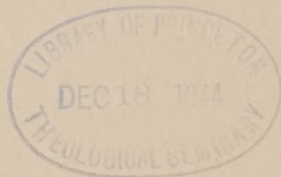
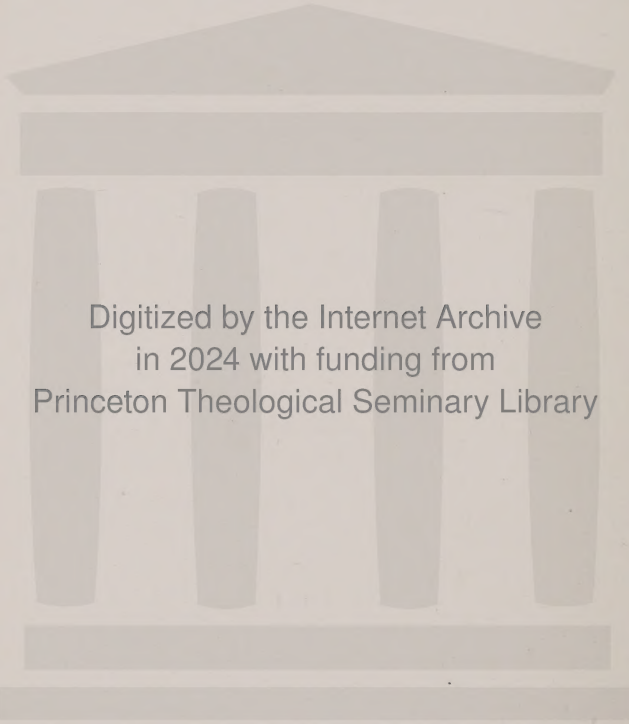




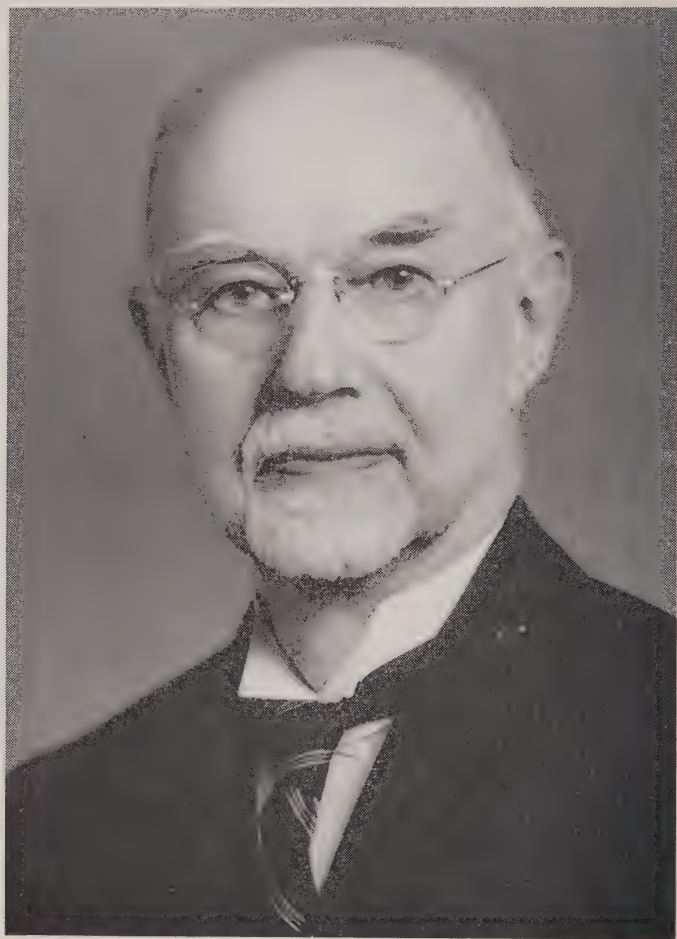
LUDWIG ERNEST FUERBRINGER



BX 8080 .F83 A3 1944
Fuerbringer, L. 1864-1947.
80 eventful years



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



THE AUTHOR



EVENTFUL YEARS

Reminiscences of

LUDWIG ERNEST FUERBRINGER

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE

SAINT LOUIS - 1944

Copyright 1944
by
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
St. Louis, Mo.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

DURING the last ten years some of my friends have repeatedly requested me to write reminiscences of my life and especially of some of the fathers and founders of our Church and of things that happened in the Church during my lifetime which are not recorded in official documents or in private memoirs. One of those friends, Dr. H. B. Hemmeter of Springfield, Ill., has been rather insistent and has told me to do it and to do it soon. Several of my colleagues at the Seminary have expressed the same opinion, and one of them thought that I should devote a little time to it every day or whenever I have the services of a secretary. Members of the Board of Control of our institution have also urged me to do this and offered to relieve me of some of my other work. Former students and present students have repeatedly and earnestly requested me to write a story of my life, and lately also some lay members of our Church who are interested in our past history have strongly urged me to undertake this matter at a time when I am still physically and mentally able to do so. And about a year ago our Literature Board expressly commissioned me to write such a book. I must confess that I have been rather reluctant to comply with such wishes

for several reasons. In the first place, I have always been busy with other work which seemed to me to be more important than such personal matters, namely, teaching and writing for our church periodicals. In the second place, I also hold that my life has not been in any way so interesting or so important that such reminiscences should be recorded. Thirdly, I am also afraid of a certain danger which is not always realized when diaries are written. Such "Tagebuecher," or diaries, must be very frank and true and not written with an eye on the reader. They must be true confessions of the soul. But I have observed again and again that almost unconsciously the thought enters the mind that they *will* be read by someone else, and that they are therefore written or recorded with this end in view. My very good friend and relative Dr. Theodore Buenger, who has been teaching in our Concordia College at St. Paul just as long as I have been teaching at St. Louis, wrote a few years ago in a private letter to a student, "Do you know that it is almost a crime to write an autobiography?" But since the request has been made again and again by friends and colleagues who know my frailties and shortcomings quite well, and since it is a fact that I had the privilege of knowing most of the fathers and of taking part in interesting meetings, for instance, in all the conventions of the General Body from 1881 to 1941, I shall at least make a beginning. Whether I shall be able to continue such reminiscences and to accomplish something worth while, and whether I shall find time to read them and revise them, I do not know. But what I am dictating to our secretary are real reminiscences, matters which I remember, and I shall put them down as before God, who has blessed me richly and un-

deservedly in my life and has thought me worthy to serve Him in our beloved Church for more than fifty years. I realize that my activities will come to a close before long and that I should be ready any day to answer the Lord's summons, and I also do not want to continue in my position if I am not fully physically and mentally able to do so. I would much rather have the members of my church body say, Why does he resign? than, Why doesn't he resign? This my friends, my colleagues, and the officials of our Church know well enough, because I have told them so by word of mouth and in writing. Of course, I would much rather put down these reminiscences in German, because my life's work has been done in that language. But I realize that such retrospects must be in the language of our country if they are to be of interest and value for those who might be inclined to glance at them. I began to write these reminiscences in January, 1941, and continued them with many interruptions up to January, 1943.

Naturally, such memoirs are very personal, the "I" is used very frequently, and they record many matters that are not at all important. However, this is not a scientific, historical work, but throughout a popular account, personal memoirs. And if this personal character be considered a fault, I am willing to let it be a fault. For those who might be interested in some historical statements I have added a number of references which the uninterested general reader may ignore. And finally I would like to state that the present title "Eighty Eventful Years" was not selected by myself, because I do not regard those years as eventful and I termed these memoirs simply "Reminiscences." The title was proposed by the publisher.

Contents

By Way of Introduction	V
------------------------------	---

CHAPTERS

1. Ancestors and Parents	5
2. A Country Parsonage and a Country School	17
3. College Days and College Friends	26
4. Director Otto Hanser	35
5. Rector George Schick	41
6. A Remarkable Incident and Far-reaching Results	48
7. The Other Members of the College Faculty in Fort Wayne	55
8. Entering the Seminary in St. Louis	65
9. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. I.	69
10. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. II.	81
11. Professor Francis Pieper	91
12. Professor George Stoeckhardt	101
13. Professor Martin Guenther	115
14. Professors Rudolph Lange and Gottlieb Schaller	122
15. Student Friends and Student Life	131
16. Entering the Ministry	145

CHAPTERS

17. Eight Years in the Ministry at Frankenmuth	159
18. From Frankenmuth to St. Louis	168
19. Instructor at the Seminary	175
20. Lecture Work and Editorial Work	182
21. Professor Augustus L. Graebner	195
22. The Founders of Our Institution	206
23. A Unique Scholar	216
24. The Seminary in the Civil War	222
25. Dr. Edward Preuss	230
26. An Unforgettable Character	239
27. Homeward Bound	251
Notes	263



COAT OF ARMS OF THE FUERBRINGER FAMILY

The tablet is in blue, crossed by a beam in silver. A golden star above and below. The ornaments are executed in blue, red, and silver. At the top an inverted anchor in silver presenting the letter "F" and topped by a star in gold

ANCESTORS AND PARENTS

I WAS BORN March 29, 1864, as the youngest son of Pastor Ottomar Fuerbringer and Agnes Ernestine, nee Buenger, in Frankenmuth, Saginaw County, Michigan, the oldest of the Franconian settlements founded by Pastor Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, Germany, in the year 1845. In looking back over my life, I realize the good hand of my Lord over me also in this respect. From the side of my parents I had connection with the Saxon emigrants of 1838 to 1839 under the leadership of Pastor Martin Stephan. On account of my birth-place and home in Frankenmuth up to the time when I was called to St. Louis in 1893 I was well acquainted with the Franconian fathers and their work, so much so that I am also quite familiar with the Franconian dialect, just as I well understand the Saxon dialect from conversations with my parents, although they both spoke the High German language. For my children and grandchildren I have written a brief family history, to which I shall allude only now and then.

The name Fuerbringer may be traced to the fifteenth and probably to the fourteenth century in Rothenburg ob der Tauber in Bavaria. Reminders of this are still to be found

in that quaint old city at the present time. But the direct line of my forefathers goes back to the end of the seventeenth century in the principality of Reuss, younger line, and chiefly in the city of Gera, an old city that celebrated its seven-hundredth anniversary in 1937. Some of the members of the family were attorneys. Later on also merchants and physicians are mentioned, but my father was, as far as I know, the first theologian and minister in the family, although an older brother had studied theology, but soon engaged in educational work. He was at one time the "director" of a teachers' college in Bunzlau, Prussia, and later the creator of the modern school system in Berlin, where a school and a street are named after him. A complete history and family tree is printed in the twenty-fifth volume of the series *Deutsches Geschlechterbuch*.

On my mother's side the name Buenger can be traced to the sixteenth century, and my forefathers were chiefly ministers; one of them was the Martinus Bungereus who signed the Formula of Concord of 1577-1580.

My father, born June 30, 1810, lost his father when he was still a boy. Since he was an orphan, his mother and oldest brother, who had started in business, thought that he should also enter some kind of business; but he liked his studies (he was already studying Latin) so well that he began to cry and told the members of his family that the only thing he cared for was to continue his studies in school, at the *Gymnasium*, or college, and finally at the university. And his wish was fulfilled. His mother must have been a remarkable woman, because without having much means she saw to it that every one of her children — and she had a large family — received a good education. Of

course, those were the days of rationalism, and in his early days my father was a rationalist. Of his own father, Wilhelm Fuerbringer, quite a prominent lawyer, he knew little on account of his youthful age; but it was always a comfort to him that his mother on her deathbed turned from the rationalistic hymnbook of her Church to the old hymnbook containing the standard hymns of the Lutheran Church.



The Author's Father in His Forties

After an old daguerreotype



Ottomar Fuerbringer

The author's father

My father studied at the *Gymnasium* of his home city, the well-known *Rutheneum*, then entered the University of Leipzig, and while a student at that institution from 1828 to 1831 he became a believing Christian and was a member of that little circle of devout students which is so well known.¹⁾ He also remembered very well from his student days Frederick August Philippi, who became an outstanding dogmatician and exegete, and Robert Schumann, the

famous composer. I may mention in passing that when my father in 1890 had rounded out fifty years in the ministry, his home city, Gera, sent him a beautiful, artistic diploma, with pictures of the churches and other buildings in water colors, mentioning also his part in the establishment of our first college, the log cabin in Perry County, Mo. This diploma is now in the collections of the Concordia Historical Institute. When in 1889 our college in Fort Wayne observed the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, the alumni assembled on this occasion sent him a letter with their signatures attached, penned by Prof. A. L. Graebner, because my father was the only one of the founders still living. And at the instance of Professor Graebner the delegates of our Synod assembled in Milwaukee in June, 1890, when my father approached his eightieth birthday and had completed his fiftieth year in the ministry, sent him a well-worded letter of congratulation, bearing many signatures.

After finishing his studies at Leipzig in the Kingdom of Saxony, my father had to take his final examination in his home church, but while he passed his examination very well according to the certificate issued to him, he was told that on account of his orthodox religious convictions he could not expect to receive a call into the ministry, the Reuss State Church being rationalistic to the core. He therefore became a private teacher in the home of Pastor Gotthold Heinrich Loeber, the oldest of the ministers influenced by Stephan and located at Eichenberg near Kahla, in one of the Saxon duchies. Those were blessed and unforgettable years for him, and he always spoke with the highest regard of Pastor Loeber and his family. Three of the children whom he instructed were well known in our

Church in later life. Pastor C. Henry Loeber, for many years minister in Milwaukee, Pastor Gotthilf S. Loeber in Northern Illinois, and Mrs. Martha Buenger, the wife of Cantor Theodore Buenger in Chicago. In Loeber's home he also met some interesting men. Prof. H. E. F. Guericke, for instance, the well-known church historian, came repeatedly from Halle to visit Loeber over the week end, and when he saw my father poring over the large folio volumes of Lutheran theologians, he said to him: "So ist's recht, Herr Kandidat," that is the right thing to do.

My father was the only one of his family to come to America. In the first years after his emigration one of his brothers urged him to return to Germany; but, although my father longed to go back to see his mother country, he remained in the United States on account of church conditions.



Agnes Buenger Fuerbringer
The author's mother

My mother, born July 23, 1819, lost her father, Pastor Jacob Frederick Buenger, in Etzdorf in the Kingdom of Saxony, in 1836, when she was 17 years old, and came to America in the spring of 1839 with her widowed mother, Christiane, nee Reiz, and several brothers and sisters; but for certain reasons they did not travel by way of New Orleans, as the great majority of the Saxon emigrants, but via New York. She was married in the same year to Otto Herman Walther, the first pastor of Old Trinity Church in

St. Louis, an older brother of C. F. W. Walther; but he died in January, 1841, and left her a widow with a little boy. On October 18, 1842, she married my father, who, after serving the church at Venedy, Ill., from May, 1840, to the winter of 1850–1851 and then the congregations at Freistadt and Kirchhayn, Wis., from 1851 to 1858, came to Frankenmuth in the latter year.

But I would like to say a little more of my parents and characterize them. My father was a schoolman and, as is well known, one of the founders and also one of the first teachers of our first college in the log cabin in Perry County, Mo. He kept up his interest in school matters and was himself a very able teacher, aside from being a thorough theologian, especially in Bible knowledge and interpretation, and also extremely well versed in philosophy. Since I was the youngest of the children and my father was 54 years old when I was born, I knew him, comparatively speaking, only as an old man, but I had much occasion to observe his abilities and scholarship. He was, as Dr. A. L. Graebner stated, and I think correctly so, “the profoundest thinker among the fathers of the Missouri Synod.”²⁾ This is also indicated in letters of his friend, colleague, and brother-in-law C. F. W. Walther,³⁾ and I have been told in my youthful days by older men that repeatedly he was seriously considered for a teaching position in the St. Louis institution. But in looking back and considering the whole situation and knowing well his temperament and some of his characteristics and also those of his contemporaries and colleagues in the ministry and among the professors, I think it was the guiding hand of God that he was not called into a teaching position, but that he remained in the active

ministry. Even as a boy I observed frequently that while he was given to deep thought and meditation, whenever he was called upon to explain matters in instruction, in confirmation classes, in conferences, he was able to do that in a very clear and satisfactory way. This was also confirmed by Dr. Schwan, who once told me that whenever my father began to write — and he has written thorough and important articles in the earlier volumes of the *Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre* — his presentation was not an easy one and demanded considerable thinking, but whenever he preached or explained things offhand, it was clear to attentive listeners. I know that some of his catechumens who later entered the ministry made use of his definitions and explanations in their own studies and classes. He himself taught me to read and write and also instructed me in Latin before I entered college, so that I was able to skip the lower classes in school and Sexta in college, and I can say that I missed nothing on that account. He was of a rather retiring nature and not a great conversationalist; he liked to study. Even to his children he did not say very much, but spent most of his time in his room; but he directed their reading. I remember well that while he was in his study and sitting at his desk, I spent hours and hours reading history, especially Redenbacher's *Weltgeschichte*, and I think I can say that by reading such matters again and again, they impressed themselves upon my mind, so that I remember them to the present day. But he was also interested in my physical welfare. He was a good horseman, riding in his Venedy days on horseback to St. Louis, a distance of about forty miles, and an excellent swimmer and went bathing even in his advanced years. He did not mind

swimming a mile and more, and he taught me to swim at an early age. But I had to wait on the banks of the Cass River with its several bends until he was able to see me and call to me to come into the water. I think I have inherited from him my love for outdoor life and for bathing, not in muddy rivers and small inland lakes, but in Lake Michigan, in the Atlantic Ocean, and in the Gulf of Mexico. And while I but seldom attended pastoral conferences where he was present — in his old age, when I was his assistant, he preferred to stay at home — I know that men like Professor Joseph Schmidt and, even before him, Professor Martin Guenther were deeply impressed by his scholarship, his solid theology, and his ability and judgment. I have never forgotten how much I owe to him in this respect and how much I learned from him when I became his assistant, although even in those years he had to be approached. He did not speak very much of the past, and to this day I regret that I did not ask him more questions about the beginnings of our Church in the forties of the last century. But occasionally, in conversation, some things were mentioned which I remember to this day. I may also say that correspondence which is still on file shows that Dr. Walther and other members of our Synod consulted him in various difficult matters and situations and even later opponents, for instance Prof. F. A. Schmidt — the so-called “Gnadenwahls-Schmidt,” because he was one of the protagonists in the Predestination Controversy — thought and spoke very highly of him. While his temperament was rather choleric, so that Walther in one of his letters to one of the other fathers called him a “schlafender Loewe,” a sleeping lion, he commanded the confidence of his brethren, especially in the so-

called Northern, or later Michigan District, to such an extent that in 1854 he was quite naturally elected the first President of this District and held this office until 1871, and in 1875 his brethren again begged and urged him to take over this office and promised to relieve him of as much routine work as possible, so that he felt obliged to comply with their request and again held the office until 1882.

My mother was entirely different, of a very sunny disposition, and in that way my parents very nicely supplemented each other. I sometimes thought that with a little variation I might apply to myself the well-known lines of Goethe:

Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur,
Des Lebens ernstes Fuehren,
Von Muetterchen die Frohnatur
Und Lust zu fabulieren.

She was — and I think I can say that truthfully, although I am her son — a very gifted woman, outstanding among the mothers of our Church, although her circle was rather limited. Having lost her father in Germany and belonging to a large family, she had, after a good general education, to look out for herself quite soon in her maiden years. I may include here that her four brothers came to this country: Frederick, the well-known pastor in St. Louis, of whom I shall speak in another chapter; Ernest, the well-known physician in Altenburg, Perry County, Mo., of whom quite a number of interesting anecdotes might be told; Theodore, the teacher in Chicago; Herman, the druggist in St. Louis. Also three of her sisters were among the emigrants: Emilie, who married Pastor C. F. W. Walther; Clementine, who was married to a member of the church in

Altenburg by the name of Neumueller; and Lydia, who was one of the girls attending school in the log cabin at Altenburg and who later married Pastor Friedrich Lochner, but died very soon. The youngest sister remained in Germany with an aunt who had no children.

After the death of her father my mother lived in the home of Dr. Edward Vehse, the well-known attorney among the immigrants, who also wrote the story of the Saxon immigration, but on account of the disastrous events in 1839 returned to Germany in the same year and became a well-known historian. I know that he thought very highly of my mother, and, his wife being an invalid, entrusted the education of their only daughter to her. My mother, being quite versatile, was an ideal "Pfarrfrau." She very willingly took upon herself the poverty and privations of a pastor's wife, especially in the first years in St. Louis, where she became the first Lutheran minister's wife in that city, then in the years of her widowhood, and also in little Venedy in Illinois, in Freistadt, Wis., and in the first years at Frankenmuth, Mich. She never complained, but was always active also among the women of the congregation and even sometimes took the place of my father in visiting the sick, because she was not only personally a devout Christian, but knew very well how to comfort others; and she kept on with her reading, not only of the Bible, but also of all the church papers to the very last months and weeks of her life. She also was endowed with an excellent memory, so that most of the things which I know of the happenings in the forties and fifties and sixties I owe to what my mother told me. I regret that I did not write down more of what she narrated. She was still at home in Perry County, Mo.,

when that incident happened which is recorded in our literature, that one day there was nothing to eat in the house. Her mother told the children that they should trust in God, He would see to it; and then a stranger appeared and brought a sack of flour. It was never found out who that stranger was, and therefore he could not be repaid. While Koestering records this incident, he does not mention the family; but it was the Buenger family.⁴⁾ My mother told her children this story more than once and firmly believed that the heavenly Father in a special way took care of them through a special messenger.

I think I can say that while my father was universally respected among his parishioners and his brethren in the ministry, my mother was universally beloved by the members of the congregations and even beyond those circles. Our home in Frankenmuth, especially in summertime, was open to many visitors, and as a little boy I learned to know some interesting men and women, owing to the hospitality of my parents, especially of my mother, who was able to manage her household affairs with little money to a remarkable degree. Later in my life she told me that when I was born she cried, thinking that because she was forty-five years old, she would not be able to bring me up. "Wer wird denn den armen kleinen Jungen erziehen?" Who will bring up that poor little fellow? she asked. But it so happened that she not only was able to bring me up and educate me and tell me many things, but above all to take care from my earliest youth of my spiritual needs. It was a favorite custom with her to assemble her children around her in the "Daemmerstunde," at twilight, which was also observed in order to save light, and then, aside from the regular

family devotion which my father conducted, she held a little private devotion, usually, especially in the Lenten season, closing with the hymn: "Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich," Thy soul, O Jesus, hallow me, or "Wo willst du hin, weil's Abend ist?" Where wilt Thou go, since night draws near? She not only brought me up, but she lived to see me enter the ministry, become her own pastor and minister as assistant to my father, and to move with me to St. Louis when I was called to the Seminary in 1893. At that time she was already quite advanced in years, but she lived with me for a year and half in St. Louis, renewed her friendship with old acquaintances, formed new friendships, and, just as my father three years earlier, on July 12, 1892, she passed quietly and peacefully to her eternal reward January 15, 1895. She is buried at my father's side in Frankenmuth, and the congregation there, although both were buried in the old cemetery, still keeps their graves in very good condition. I may add that a very good sketch of my father's life was written by his lifelong friend and brother-in-law Pastor F. Lochner and published in the *Lutheraner*.⁵¹

A COUNTRY PARSONAGE AND A COUNTRY SCHOOL

BEFORE proceeding to other matters, I should perhaps say something about the home life in my youth. This home life is one of the most beautiful memories I have, and since we were living in the country about a mile from the village and led a rather retired life, especially in winter, and did not know anything of modern entertainments and societies, we were thrown upon our own resources. While I missed the companionship of an older brother, my sisters with whom I grew up supplied this companionship to a great extent.

My mother's marriage to Pastor Herman Walther of Old Trinity Church was blessed in October, 1840, with a boy named John, but already in January, 1841, my mother was left a widow. Even before this she had adopted Theresa Harzdorf at the fervent request of the latter's mother, a widow, who on her deathbed stated that she could not die peacefully if my mother would not look after her little girl. At that time, if I remember rightly, my mother was not as yet married or had been married only a short while, but she took the little girl to her heart when she herself did not know what would become of her and

how she would be able to take care of the child. But she was certainly well repaid. Theresa, who was only fifteen years younger, proved to be a faithful foster daughter and an excellent help to my mother, especially in the forties when my mother had little children; and she was always considered a member of our family. She was married in 1854 to Pastor Martin Guenther, who had been a student in the log cabin in Perry County and in the St. Louis Seminary and was at that time pastor in Grafton, Wis., not very far from Freistadt, the home of my parents.

October 18, 1842, my mother was married to my father, then at Venedy, Ill., whom she had already known in Germany, because he was a good friend of her own brother Frederick Buenger. The ceremony was performed by her first husband's brother, Ferdinand Walther, who had married the older sister of my mother, Emily, and the very fine address which Walther gave on that occasion on the "Constant and Beneficial Change of Joys and Sorrows in This World," on the basis of Ps. 30:4, 5, has been printed.¹⁾ John Walther, my half-brother, I did not know until later. He was first a minister in our Church, having been graduated from the St. Louis Seminary in 1863, then for a time was teacher at the Orphans' Home in Des Peres near St. Louis, hereupon accepted a call as teacher at Frankenmuth, and later again entered the ministry in Michigan, until he resigned as pastor. He had married Louise Hattstaedt, the oldest daughter of Pastor W. Hattstaedt of Monroe, Mich. Some of their children are well known. I mention only Pastor C. F. Walther, who was stationed for many years near St. Paul, Minn., and was a member of the Mission Board of the Minnesota District, taking care especially of

the Canadian field; Ernest Walther, pastor in Michigan; and Paul Walther, the youngest son, pastor in Minnesota. Also two grandsons are ministers in our Church.

But now I turn to my full brothers and sisters. My oldest sister, Renata, was married, in the same year in which I was born, to Pastor K. L. Moll, for many years in Detroit, Mich. But since Detroit was only 100 miles from Frankenmuth, she and her children visited quite often in our home, so that I got to know her very well. One of her sons is Pastor William E. Moll, for many years located in Fort Wayne, Ind., and a second one Walter E. Moll, sometime professor at our college in Fort Wayne and at present professor of law at a university in Washington, D. C. Since one son of my parents, Otto, died in his early infancy in Venedy and is buried there, I only had one brother, Gustavus, who entered Concordia College, Fort Wayne, when I was a year old, but after his graduation decided to become a doctor and was quite a prominent physician in Saginaw, Mich., up to the time of his death in 1911. I got to know him very well in later years. But I really grew up with three sisters, and fortunately they were all sensible girls and never forgot that I was a boy and not a girl. Marie married a businessman, Lawrence Hubinger in Frankenmuth, and her oldest daughter, Agnes, married Pastor George Nuechterlein, for many years minister in the old Franconian colony of Frankenlust near Bay City, Mich. The next sister with whom I grew up was Clara, who married the oldest son of the Sievers family, which was always very close to our family, since Frankenlust, where Pastor Ferdinand Sievers was stationed, and Frankenmuth were only 25 miles apart. With her husband, Pastor Frederick

Sievers, Clara first resided at St. Charles, Mo., then at Minneapolis, Minn., and finally in Michigan, first at Tawas City and later on in Arcadia. Clara was rather frail physically; they lost several infant children, and the only son that grew up, Otto Sievers, drowned in Minnesota while bathing, having been minister of a church in that State for several years. Both Clara and her husband died in 1928, Frederick Sievers being well remembered in Minnesota, where he was very active in the development of our Church. Since Marie and Clara were married while I still went to grammar school, the youngest sister, Agnes, was really the one who became closest to me. She was a remarkable girl, undoubtedly the most gifted member of our family. And as I look back and realize what she accomplished in that little country place with the limited education she received, it is almost something unique. I have never seen the like. She had only a grammar school education, but soon after her confirmation my parents sent her to St. Louis for a year to get a little more instruction in the "höhere Toechterschule" that had been founded in St. Louis in the sixties, where A. L. Graebner, the well-known theologian and professor, was her teacher and exerted quite an influence on her. This girls' school later on became the well-known Walther College. She then returned home and not long after this suffered an acute attack of rheumatism, which left her with a weak heart. But in spite of all these handicaps she acquired, through reading, a wide and varied knowledge, became an accomplished musician, and also taught me to play the piano. (Unfortunately I did not in my boyhood days practice very much, and the teacher, being my own sister, did not have much power and persuasion over

the boy; but I learned to play short pieces of Bach: gavottes, bourées, and gigue, in those days and made up for it in my college and seminary days.) She had a number of correspondents whom she met but rarely, perhaps only once in her lifetime, one of them being that accomplished musician John Hattstaedt, first associated with the Chicago Musical College founded by Ziegfeld and later on the founder of the American Conservatory of Music, becoming its president and chief teacher. I cannot state in adequate language how much I owe to Sister Agnes. She directed much of my reading, she told me many things which she had read and knew, buying music and books with her limited means and borrowing books from others. Through her especially our home became a musical home. Of course, my parents helped her along as much as possible. Since she never married, I had the benefit of her teaching and advice throughout my college and seminary days and in the first year of my ministry in Frankenmuth. She died in 1886 of heart failure when she was 28 years old and is buried on the cemetery in Frankenmuth next to my father and mother.

With much pleasure and gratitude I recall my school days. My father had taught me to read and write, so that I was able to skip the lowest class, and I enjoyed thoroughly the instruction given me. My teacher was good old Cantor Simon Riedel, whose name is well remembered in the Michigan District and also in other Districts, since his brother was for many years teacher in St. Paul's Church, Fort Wayne, and another brother was minister in our Church in Illinois and Iowa. Cantor Riedel received his training in one of the "Lehrerseminare," or teachers' colleges, in Bavaria, was decidedly above the average of teach-

ers in those days, and interested me not only in the general subjects, but also in church music, especially in the evaluation of the Lutheran chorale. I still thank him for teaching us hymns that were rarely sung, in fact, teaching us *all* the chorales of the German hymnbook, among them the morning hymn, No. 296, "Ermuntre dich, Herz, Mut und Sinn,"



Frankenmuth in 1859

According to a drawing in water colors made by Pastor F. Lochner, attending the Synodical Convention in that year. At the left the old log church built in 1846. Next, the frame church built in 1852, the church in which the author was baptized and confirmed. On the other side of the street, first the teacherage and then the parsonage in which the author was born and lived up to 1891

with its characteristic, beautiful tune, which nowadays is hardly known anywhere, although Johann Sebastian Bach included it in his *Choralmelodien*, and which I still love to play on the piano in Bach's harmonization. I remember well that he also spoke to us about the events taking place

in world history, especially the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, at a time when I was only six years old. The other teacher was J. G. Nuechterlein, also a Bavarian, whose parents and uncles were prominent members of our Frankenmuth church. He had received his training in Fort Wayne at the time when the teachers' seminary was connected with the practical theological seminary at that place, founded by Pastor Loehe in 1846. Of course, the school was a country school, and our Christian day schools have improved remarkably since those days, but I must say that it was far above the average, and I learned the three R's very well in that school, especially careful reading and correct writing, and also United States history. According to an arrangement with the State the instruction in the forenoon was devoted to the German branches, while the afternoon session was considered as the English school. But the predominating language was by far, and naturally so, the German, especially in the Franconian dialect. Even the instruction in English, which, on account of conditions in those days, was rather meager, was given through the medium of the German language, and whenever a question arose, our teacher used to say, "Wir wollen einmal sehen, was Webster sagt," and consulted Webster's Dictionary. The readers used were the famous McGuffey texts. Some of the children were so unfamiliar with English that I later on amused my own children by telling them that in division the children naively said for "divided by" "dibidiby." Although coming from the parsonage, which was always respected and held in high esteem by the members of the church, I associated very readily with the children of the farmers, formed friendships with the boys that extended through many years, and

.

.

in this way learned the interesting and peculiar Franconian dialect, which came in very handy in later years when I was pastor of the church. I think I can say that no peculiar Franconian expression was strange to me, and even in my old age I still like to converse in this dialect with some of my friends in the ministry, like Dr. Henry Grueber in Milwaukee and Pastor Louis Nuechterlein in St. Joseph, Mich. Comparing the Franconian dialect with the Saxon and the Low German, or "plattdeutsche," vernacular, I prefer it to those dialects. It is in my opinion more concrete, and it also expresses more the character and individuality of the people using it. Also for that reason, next to the Saxon heritage transmitted to me by my parents, I was always much interested in the Franconian settlements and congregations in Michigan. That section of our country and of our Church was really my home.

In looking back upon my school days I really have forgotten how many years I spent in school, perhaps six, but it may also have been almost seven years. The school year began at Easter, after the catechumen class had been dismissed before Palm Sunday, and I remember that, in the last weeks before my confirmation, Teacher Riedel once asked us to write a little paper (but paper was used very sparingly in those days; almost everything was written on a slate) on what we intended to become in later life. Well, I had been brought up with the thought that I would enter the profession of my father and become a minister, especially since my older brother decided to follow another tradition of our family and become a doctor. And so I told my teacher that with God's help the ministry would become my calling. This decision I have never regretted, not

even for a moment. When I was confirmed on Palm Sunday, 1877, my father in an indirect way impressed this matter upon me by giving me as my "Konfirmationsspruch" 1 Tim. 6:12, a Bible passage which has accompanied me through life. And on my first Communion day, the following Maundy Thursday, which happened to be my thirteenth birthday, he and Mother gave me C. T. Seidel's *Kommunionbuch*, with an appropriate inscription which made a deep impression on me. In looking back, I must say that both of my teachers always maintained an interest in me. Cantor Riedel remained with the congregation in Frankenmuth all his life, while Teacher Nuechterlein was called to Grand Rapids, Mich. Of course, I could recall many humorous incidents of my school days, which I must omit. One thing I learned in my Frankenmuth days: the simple life; and I still cherish it. When a number of years ago three phases of life were mentioned quite frequently, one of them in a sarcastic way, the "simple life," advocated by the French philosopher Henri Bergson, the "strenuous life," typified by Theodore Roosevelt, and the "Equitable Life" when the fraudulent transactions of high finance in general and of the great life insurance companies in particular were uncovered by Charles Evans Hughes and others, I made it a point to speak for and follow the "simple life."

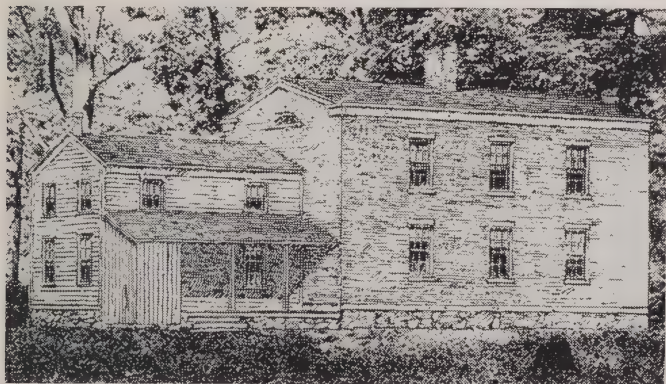
COLLEGE DAYS AND COLLEGE FRIENDS

As stated before, I had decided to become a minister. I thereby also fulfilled the devout wish of my parents, especially of my mother, and I entered our college at Fort Wayne in 1877. My father had taught me Latin, and since he was an excellent instructor, I could have skipped not only the lowest class, Sexta, as it was called in those days, but also Quinta, the fifth class, and the director of the school wrote us to that effect; but fortunately my father thought that I should not skip two classes, because in other subjects I was somewhat deficient, and while I did not have to study very much in Latin the first year, I had other things to learn.

The language used among the boys in those days, at least in some circles, I think, was predominantly German, although the boys coming from the East and from the large cities preferred to speak English. The predecessor of our Director Hanser, Director Alexander Saxer, an excellent schoolman, thought that even on the playgrounds the German language should be used, but then Charles Obermeyer, later on well-known pastor in St. Louis, convinced him that baseball could not very well be played by using German

terms. My own education in English was rather poor and meager, because Frankenmuth was absolutely a German community and, as already stated, the instruction in English was given through the medium of the German language.

I was a little, timid country boy of thirteen years when I entered college under the guidance of my life-long Frankenmuth friend Jacob Trinklein and was placed into a room



The First Building at the Fort Wayne College, the So-called Wolterhaus

Dedicated August 29, 1850

The foundations are covered with ground but were still extant
not many years ago

where some of the "Tertianers," that is, high school students in the Senior class, tried to take advantage of the little fellow; but fortunately the student overseer, the "decurio," as we called him, the "Zimmeraelteste," who was always a member of the highest class, a Primaner, was Theodore Lamprecht, and he saw to it that no one troubled me; and very soon these very Tertianers became my good friends, and in later life I had contact with them more than once,

one becoming a minister, the second one a lawyer, the third one a bookkeeper, and the fourth one a farmer. But I have never forgotten that kindness of Lamprecht and remembered it in later life when that very noble man became a close friend of mine and always furnished money when



An Old Picture of the Fort Wayne Institution

I presented to him a worthy cause either in this country or in foreign countries. Some personal reminiscences of him may be found in the *Lutheraner*.¹⁾

Generally speaking, I must say that I look back on my college days with much pleasure; and although such a looking back on the part of one who is now in the seventies may appear somewhat colored and rosy, I can truthfully say that I spent five happy years, and, if space permitted,

I could write pages of reminiscences. I was glad to study and was always interested in and enjoyed my studies, especially German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and history; but I also enjoyed the freedom and the harmless pleasures of college life, the companionship with boys of my age, which led to lifelong friendship (although most of them have now passed away); the enjoyment we had in our literary and other societies, the records and minutes of which have fallen



The So-called "Old Building," Now Called "Hanser Hall"

Here the author lived as a student from 1877 to 1882

into my hands and are now to be found among the various collections of our Concordia Historical Institute; the dramatic entertainments which we offered to our classmates and the boys of the lower classes and which sometimes required enormous work in getting the benches and tables from the washrooms in the basement and building some kind of a platform or stage; the pleasure which we had when annually entertainments were arranged for our benefactors in the city, whom we quite often called "meine Waschleute," although we made it a point to correct ourselves and to call them "meine Wohltäter" (my bene-

factors). The good people in the Fort Wayne congregations took care of the laundry of the college boys for many, many years. The students also had their Sunday dinner with them and received many other favors and benefits. I also think of the Sewing Society, the "Naehverein," now called the "Martha Society," which, if I am not mistaken, was originally founded by the very kind and estimable wife



Third Class (Tertia), 1879—1880

Sitting, left to right: Oscar Hanser, P. Plass, Chr. Waeltnner, R. Biedermann, L. W. Dorn, Rudolph Hanser, H. Achenbach, Th. Wyneken

Second row, from left to right: P. Schlesinger, F. Brand, M. Fuelling, G. Koenig, G. Link, J. Harsch, H. Schmidt

Upper row, from left to right: L. Fuerbringer, A. Hagemann, E. Eckhardt, A. W. Meyer, A. Burgdorf, J. Doermann, P. Wichmann, W. Rocklage

of Dr. Sihler and the members of which repaired the deficient and torn clothing of the college boys. When these pieces of clothing were returned, they sometimes were not recognizable on account of the many patches that had to be used, and one day the former steward of the college came into the dining hall holding up a pair of pants and explain-

ing in his own vernacular: "Wer gehoeren die Buechsen (pants) da? Sie muessen doch wer gehoeren?" That was good old man Reinke, who with his kind wife had charge of the commissary; and the attachment between them and the students was so close that once when they attended a college festivity — I think it was the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the college — I remember seeing Mrs. Reinke caressing in a motherly way Pastor Charles Frincke, at that time a prominent minister on Staten Island, N. Y. They were the parents of the well-known Pastor August Reinke of Chicago. These entertainments given by the students were always very much enjoyed by the visitors, and one of the outstanding numbers used to be a Low German poem or incident, ein "plattdeutsches Gedicht" of Claus Groth or Fritz Reuter. I think of the joy we had in winter-time, in skating and sleigh riding; in summertime, in bathing in the far-famed Maumee River. I think of the good housemother we had in kind Mrs. Schust; of the sometimes rather peculiar house servants, the engineer "Pete" Stetzer, quite a character, and the old baker Sahner; of the jokes played on the tender of the locks in the canal, which was still used in my first college years for freight traffic, when some of the mischievously inclined boys opened the locks without his knowing, and then his peculiar complaint to good Director Hanser. Life was very simple in those days, and the enjoyments and pleasures would probably provoke a sympathetic smile on the faces of the present generation. But that simple life in rather primitive conditions, simple also on account of the poverty of many students, provided more enjoyment than some of the blasé things that have taken their place.

Some friendships were formed in those days that extended over years and decades, chiefly among my own classmates or in the classes just above or below my class. I cannot mention by far the names of all those friends, but single out a few names of those who later on became well known in our Church. In the class just above my own



Dramatic Club Cimbrria, October, 1879

Sitting, from left to right: P. Wichmann, L. Fuerbringer, Rudolph Hanser.
 Standing: P. Schlesinger, A. W. Meyer, G. Koenig, H. Achenbach,
 Chr. Waeltner, A. Hagemann

class I recall Otto Hattstaedt, for many years professor at our Milwaukee Concordia, with whose family my family was well acquainted; George Bernthal, a Frankenmuth boy, later minister in Detroit, Mich., and in San Francisco, Calif., sometime official of his District and of General Synod; Ferdinand Rupprecht, who, after he had resigned from the

ministry on account of his health, was for many years proof-reader and house editor at our Concordia Publishing House; Adolph Buenger, my cousin and my close friend, for many years pastor in Chicago; Herman Daib, pastor in Wisconsin and President of his District. In my own class I might mention Frederick Brand, for many years official of our Synod and director of our Foreign Missions; Louis Dorn, pastor and later on professor at our Fort Wayne Concordia; George Link, pastor in Mount Clemens, Mich., and La Porte, Ind.; Adolph Meyer, who came to our college from New Zealand and was therefore called "der Kannibale," later on professor and president of our St. John's College in Winfield and District official; Richard Biedermann, pastor in St. Paul, Minn., Mobile, Ala., Kendallville and Indianapolis, Ind., and later on Secretary of Synod and president of our Springfield Seminary; Theodore Horst, for many years a prominent pastor of our Central District in Toledo, Ohio; George Koenig from New York, later on pastor in Brooklyn and in Washington, D. C. In the class following my own I would mention William Dallmann, the well-known pastor and author of many books and pamphlets; William Dau, pastor, professor at Conover, and then for many years my respected and beloved colleague at the St. Louis Seminary, now president emeritus of Valparaiso University; Theodore Engelder, called by his friends "der kleine Conrad," because his older brother, "der grosse Conrad," was a year ahead of him, and who after many years of service in the ministry and at our Springfield Seminary has been such a valued colleague at my side in the St. Louis Seminary; Julius Friedrich, pastor in Tennessee and Missouri and finally student pastor in Iowa City; Louis Wessel, for many years professor at our

Springfield Seminary; J. William Theiss, the poet and painter of California; Edmund Seuel, for about twenty years instructor at the Walther College in St. Louis and for many years manager of Concordia Publishing House and Treasurer of Synod; August Lange, pastor and for a number of years editor of the *Abendschule*. All these friendships ex-



Fort Wayne College Orchestra, 1879—1880

Sitting, from left to right: H. Achenbach, A. Gahl, G. Link, L. Vogelsang, J. A. Friedrich, G. Fischer, E. Griese.
 Standing: Herman Schmidt, A. Buenger, P. Ewh, Chr. Birkner, L. Fuerbringer, Th. Stephan

tended through the Seminary days and mostly throughout life, and some of them became even more intimate in the course of years on account of community of interests and studies. Blessed memory! Correspondence; exchange of thought, help rendered never to be forgotten! But space will not permit me to devote more time to these reminiscences of college days and college friends.

DIRECTOR OTTO HANSER

MUCH MORE important than reminiscences of my college days and college friends are some recollections of our instructors in those years from 1877 to 1882. They influenced me considerably, not only in conveying much useful knowledge, but also in other ways, and I owe them a great debt of gratitude.

I shall speak first of our good "Director," our president, C. J. Otto Hanser, a very friendly man, as all who knew him will remember, an optimist and enthusiast in the best sense of the term, a gifted speaker and always very active, even in his older days, so that on account of his ability to get around he was familiarly called "Otto volans," "der fliegende Otto." He really was a father to his students, particularly to those in the lower classes. His chief branch of teaching, of course, was religion, and he gave the religious instruction in every class. I had him only for a little over a year, but I shall never forget that instruction. I remember very well that in order to safeguard the boys, especially also against boyhood sins of a sexual nature, he spent at the beginning of the school year an hour teaching us the Sixth Commandment and had us learn that hymn which at that time impressed me very much: "Erneure mich, o ew'ges Licht,"

"Renew me, O eternal Light," and I think I can say that aside from the exhortation and admonition of my father before I left for college and the pious devotional life and prayer of my mother, Pastor Hanser was the chief instrument in keeping me on the right path. In those days students wishing to partake of Communion had to announce their intention in his office, and on a certain evening, I think



Director Otto Hanser

it was Friday evening, he always had these students assemble in his study, where he gave them a very earnest but at the same time fatherly talk and admonition. Later on the ministers of the city churches received announcements of students in their parsonages, and Pastor H. G. Sauer, the second pastor of St. Paul's Church, of which Dr. Sihler was the first, was a very friendly and conscientious "Seelsorger" and pastoral adviser in such matters. In our geog-

raphy periods in Quinta, Director Hanser was also able to tell interesting things of foreign countries, because for reasons of health he had to discontinue his theological studies for some time and become a mariner. And although he was always very friendly and courteous, he also knew how to meet difficult situations. Once there was some kind of revolt among the upper classes, the reason for which I either did not learn or have forgotten. A rather tumultuous crowd gathered in the rotunda of the main college building; the leaders were men who later on became quite

prominent in the affairs of the Church. We little fellows of Quinta and Sexta, the two lowest classes, were afraid that some kind of uprising or even a fight would ensue. Someone must have informed the Director, for he suddenly appeared with his lantern, which he always carried on his evening inspection tours, went into the surging crowd, and simply said, "Boys, boys," and in a short time, in his fair and friendly way, quelled the disturbance and restored quiet. At another time there was a rumor among the lower classes that every night a "ghost" came over from the cemetery adjoining the campus, a tall "apparition" clad in white from head to foot. The rumor spread, some had seen the "ghost," and finally the little boys were almost afraid to go outside after dark. They had not experienced such a thing before. But Hanser got hold of this "ghost" of flesh and blood, the appearances stopped rather suddenly, and the "ghost," a very tall young man, later became quite a noted minister.

While Pastor Hanser was a very faithful director, he retained his love for the ministry, especially for preaching, having been taught this subject by Walther. He became such a faithful disciple of his teacher that he collected Walther's manuscript sermons to a greater extent than anyone I know of and edited his *Epistelpostille*, sermons on the epistles of the church year. This attachment dated from Hanser's student days in the fifties, and I may mention in this connection an incident that should not be forgotten. On one occasion Hanser saved Walther's life. While both were swimming in the Mississippi River, a rather dangerous stream, Walther was nearly drowned, having gone down for the third time, but Hanser, a good swimmer,

was able to assist him to the shore. I think I heard from Hanser's own lips the story, which was related also by others, that Walther at that time had a peculiar experience. It is a well-known fact that persons in danger of drowning suddenly are reminded of matters of their past life. Their whole life, as it were, passes before their mind in an instant. And so Walther, recalling his controversy with Grabau, the leader of the Buffalo Synod in those years, all at once, when realizing that death was near, thought: *Was wird aber der Grabau sagen?* What will Grabau say when he hears of my death in the river? Will he not consider it a judgment of God?

Hanser's love for the ministry was so strong that when he received a call to important Old Trinity Church in St. Louis (before he came to Fort Wayne, he had been pastor in Carondelet, or South St. Louis, and in Boston, Mass.), he felt in conscience bound to accept the call, and he took leave of us during the school year 1878-1879. When I was a student in St. Louis, I again met him, although I did not attend his church, but Holy Cross Church, and when I was called to the Seminary, he was on the Board of Control and continued on that board for many years. It was even my privilege to be his assistant in Trinity Church for some time, and also in those days I noticed his optimism and cheerful frame of mind. I remember very well that Professor Pieper, who also thought very highly of Pastor Hanser, once remarked that the temperament and make-up of a man must always be considered when judging his acts, and this certainly held true of Pastor Hanser with regard to his manifold activities. Some of his striking remarks have really become proverbial, and I may mention

one or two. He was on the Board of Control of our Seminary when the new Seminary was built in 1882–1883, this being my first year at the Seminary. Everybody knows that it was a stately, beautiful building, and the cost went pretty much beyond the allowance made by Synod in 1881. The sum allowed was \$100,000, and, if I remember rightly, the building cost almost \$140,000; and some of the delegates to the General Convention in 1884 had made up their mind that they would severely censure the Board of Control for going beyond the limit. Hanser read the report of the Board of Control, including the account of the building operations, stated frankly that they had expended more than they were authorized to do, and then closed in a rather dramatic way: “Hier ist mein Ruecken; schlagt zu!” “Here is my back. Strike!” But having shown that the Building Committee had the best interests of the institution at heart in building a substantial and beautiful building — all those who knew that building will remember the beautiful stairway — the convention was satisfied. Another almost humorous incident comes to my mind. The congregations in St. Louis had built a mausoleum for Dr. Walther on Concordia Cemetery, where that great theologian and his wife lie buried. The question came up as to whether Synod should not bear at least the funeral expenses. But Hanser in his enthusiastic way would not hear of it and stated with great emphasis before the convention assembled: “Wir” — Walther’s congregations — “haben Dr. Walther *mit Freuden* begraben.” “We were *glad* to bury Dr. Walther.”

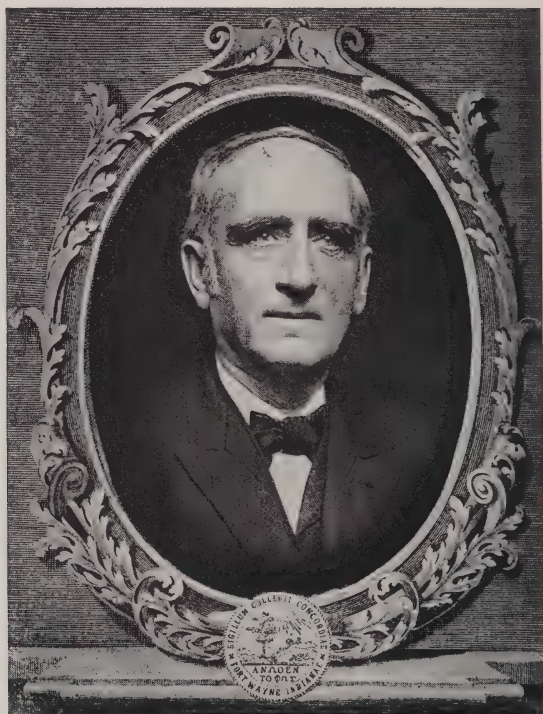
As a pastor, Hanser sometimes had to deal with rather peculiar people who were attracted to his church and who probably could not be handled so successfully by other

ministers. He actually had a little diaspora, a "scattering," of people. But just on account of his natural gifts and his rhetorical powers he had a hold on them that they kept coming to his church, some of them joining and others at least being influenced by him. I recall an actress, a very gifted, remarkable woman, who had married a member of his church. She had been reared a Catholic, had left her Church, and had formed no connection with any other church. But she was attracted by Hanser, visited his church, and while not joining it during his lifetime, she later on became more favorably inclined to our Church, and was finally buried by one of our ministers.

Shortly before passing to his eternal reward, January 10, 1910, Pastor Hanser had finished a volume of reminiscences, an autobiography well worth reading.¹⁾

RECTOR GEORGE SCHICK

EVERY STUDENT at our Fort Wayne College who during the years from 1856 to 1914 was graduated from the institution remembers Rector George Schick, the school's foremost instructor in classics and a teacher who instilled a love for the classics in all those who were willing to learn something, but who was also somewhat feared by those who wanted to travel the easy road. It is true that he had some peculiarities which have gone down in history and were never forgotten by his onetime students, but everyone who attended his classes learned to know his outstanding scholarship and ability. He was born in Homburg, Hessa, February 25, 1831, and had a very fine training in philology and also in theology, first at his home university in Marburg and later in Erlangen. The outstanding theologians of the Erlangen school were his instructors, but he mentioned especially and quite often his distinguished instructor in the field of classical philology, the well-known scholar Carl Ludwig Naegelsbach, usually introducing him as "mein hochverehrter (highly esteemed) Lehrer Naegelsbach." He was confirmed by Pastor Mergner, the most original composer of tunes for Paul Gerhardt's hymns. When Schick came to America in the fifties of the



Rector G. Schick in His Old Age

last century, he became pastor in Chicago, but was very soon called to our college, at that time located in St. Louis, because he was particularly qualified for such a teaching position and, I also believe, preferred it to the active ministry. But he maintained his interest in theology and continued his wide reading also in this field. He taught Latin and Greek in the two upper classes of the college, Secunda and Prima, and also up to my time taught ancient and modern history, and I owe very much to him also in this field. But while I was still a student, he turned his history classes over to other instructors, with the complaint that the historical sense and interest in our country was not sufficiently developed, and therefore he would give up his instruction of that branch. But in the classics he continued to imbue his students with a fine understanding of the masterpieces of Latin and Greek literature. I may also add that for some years he taught Hebrew, also in a very effective way. It so happened that my class did not have a very efficient teacher of this language in Secunda and therefore did not quite succeed in overcoming the difficulties which Hebrew presents to the beginner; and when we entered Prima, Rector Schick had to begin, I might almost say, all over, and he did it in such a way that from that one year dates my love for this unique and, after all, comparatively easy language, a love which was later especially fostered by Professor Stoeckhardt and which I still possess. But, above all, Schick's masterful instruction and exposition of the works of Livy, Vergil, and Horace, of Homer, Demosthenes, and Sophocles were never to be forgotten. I remember that our class was one of the first classes, if not the first, to read Demosthenes' oration *De Corona*, *On the Crown*, and I was

called upon to translate the first sentence, which I have never forgotten; and we also read with him the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and I learned by rote and still remember to the present day the first lines of the first chorus.

In passing, I might say that Plato interested me so much that in the first year of my theological studies in St. Louis my good friend Louis Dorn, who later on became professor in Fort Wayne, and I met once a week in order to read dialogs of Plato. And of these especially the *Republic* interested me, with that famous passage in which Plato characterizes the ideal Just One, a passage which was so often quoted by the apologists of the old Church as an instance of the *logos spermatikos*, the "scattered seed" concerning the Messiah, and seems to indicate that Plato may have heard something of the Old Testament religion, especially of Isaiah 53. I would also like to say that having repeatedly re-read the *Antigone* in my earlier years after I had left Fort Wayne, I had not returned to it for about twenty years; but when the Greek class at Washington University presented this drama of Sophocles in Greek and through its professor invited me to be present, I again took my old copy of the *Antigone* with me and was much impressed by that old masterpiece and pitied those of the present generation who often turn to trash and neglect such outstanding examples of world literature, works that have been so well translated into English and German.

Rector Schick was always very kind to those students that showed an interest in classical studies, even assisting them to get valuable books, for instance, Luebker's *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*, which I still have in my library as a reminder of his kindness to me. On the other hand, he

grew rather impatient with those who had no such interest and who also had great difficulty in reading the more elaborate classic works. Sometimes his remarks were rather sarcastic. That was to some extent a pity, because he created a feeling in some of the weaker students that he did not take much interest in them and was there only to plague them. But I must also say that more than once he acknowledged his shortcomings in this respect. I recall one instance. He had treated a student not quite fairly in the classroom. When the student came to his house and complained of the treatment, the matter was settled satisfactorily in a short time, and Rector remarked: "Little pots boil over easily; great pots sometimes do the same thing." The student was of small stature, and Rector was well over six feet.

I could fill pages with reminiscences of his characteristic and often quite humorous sayings, but I shall put down only a few instances. My friend Pastor Louis Nuechterlein has quite a collection of such sayings which are — to this I can testify — true to life and have actually occurred. I remember that on one occasion when a member of the class fabricated a monstrous form either in Greek or in Hebrew, Rector saw a dog pass by outside and said: "Machen Sie doch das Fenster zu, damit der Hund diese schreckliche Form nicht hoert." He was rather sensitive concerning his own person and especially grew angry if a student — boys are boys — removed the nail, or "Pflock," on which he used to hang his hat. As an excellent teacher he knew that the knowledge of Hebrew and the best way to encourage students to continue reading Hebrew in later life depends chiefly on two matters, which I have always practiced and often repeated to my own students. One must know the

Hebrew *verb*, and Rector Schick was indefatigable in drilling the verb. When he entered the classroom, while he still had his hand on the doorknob, he called out: "N. N., now begin with *katal*, the familiar Hebrew verb, and almost every day required us to conjugate the verb individually and as a class. And the second point upon which he insisted was a *copia verborum*: one must know a large number of Hebrew words and not be obliged to turn to the dictionary for every second word. If one would only make up his mind and overcome the beginner's difficulty, he would soon get real enjoyment out of reading and studying that wonderful language in which God has graciously given us His Word.

Sometimes Schick's remarks amused us considerably. We read in Hebrew that "wine maketh glad the heart of man," Ps. 104:15. He must have considered that passage somewhat dangerous for youthful persons, and so he explained it by saying that in younger days one is by nature joyful and does not need any stimulant, but for older people wine was the gracious gift of God. We also read as a part of our training in Greek the New Testament, and Rector Schick naturally stressed the philological side of the *Koine*, or New Testament Greek, and compared it with the classical idiom. But he also made some fine remarks in religion and theology, which I remember to the present day.

He also took an active interest in the affairs of the world, of his country, state, and city, much more so than those who did not know him well realized. At one time a public improvement was planned, and the citizens of Fort Wayne were requested to vote on it. I do not recall the particulars, but remember that it carried with an almost unanimous

vote, and the daily paper next day remarked that "only one solitary crank in Ward No. So and So voted against it." No one, of course, knew at that time who had cast that negative vote, but when the whole plan fizzled out and was given up, Rector Schick, who had thought the matter over very carefully, told us that he at that time realized that it was a foolish plan and almost prided himself on being that "one solitary crank."

He continued teaching to a ripe old age — in looking back I might almost say, perhaps a little too long for a teacher of men in their teens — retired in 1914, and died January 3, 1915. Some developments in our educational system he did not favor, and at one time he even resigned, but finally was glad to reconsider his decision. At one time he would also have welcomed a transfer to a theological professorship at St. Louis, but I think it was fortunate that this plan did not materialize. He had taught the classics so long, and he remained in the memory of many of his students the classics teacher *par excellence*.

A REMARKABLE INCIDENT AND FAR-REACHING RESULTS

IN the life of Rector Schick I think that one incident should be recorded which is rather unique and is not known to many. It is not, strictly speaking, one of my own reminiscences, because it happened before I was born, but I know the details and had the opportunity of observing the results to the present day.

Some of the older readers of these reminiscences may remember from their student days or in some other way the name of the Presbyterian minister in St. Louis, Dr. James H. Brookes, sometime pastor of the Washington and Compton Presbyterian Church, which now has been re-located as Memorial Church on Skinker Road in the vicinity of our Seminary. Dr. Brookes in his day was known throughout our country and had great influence during his thirty-nine years' activity in St. Louis through *Truth*, a monthly religious magazine which he published for a number of years, and through his addresses at Bible Conferences and on other occasions. In his sermons, in his magazine, and in his books he taught and defended especially the verbal inspiration of the Bible, redemption through the blood of Christ, and justification by faith. He passed away on Easter Sun-

day, 1896, and the first words in his last will and testament read as follows: "It is my wish to state, as a preamble, my faith in the inerrant inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, in the atoning blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the hope of His coming again." I must add that Brookes was, much to my regret, a chiliast of the premillenarian type. I heard him preach off and on in my student days and also when I came to St. Louis as instructor in our Seminary, and I was always impressed with his sincerity, his childlike faith, the courage of his conviction, and his earnestness in presenting and defending the fundamental Bible truths. Even today, in 1942, his congregation is one of the few churches that insist upon having a thoroughly conservative pastor, and the president of the congregation, a prominent banker, once assured me that they would not have any minister but one who would teach and maintain the fundamental Bible truths impressed upon the congregation by Brookes. And from my own observation I know that this is still the position of the church. Others spoke to me in the same way, especially a physician and a woman who had been a Sunday school teacher in that church quite a number of years. When in recent years a split occurred in the Presbyterian Church of our country on account of liberal tendencies at its Princeton Seminary, this church sided with the Westminster party, which founded its own seminary in Philadelphia, and on different occasions the well-known Dr. J. Gresham Machen spoke in their church and presented their position. In our former Walther College in St. Louis is housed at the present time a Bible School, or Institute, bearing the name "Brookes Bible Institute," because Brookes was an outstanding Bible reader and student.

And now the connection between Dr. Brookes and Rector Schick. We have a frank and most interesting report of the incident from Dr. Brookes' own pen, published in *Truth* of March, 1887, p. 153, under the following heading:

TEACHING A PREACHER

"More than twenty-five years ago a young pastor was entirely disabled by a throat disease. During the two or three months that preceded the cessation of his work, he had noticed in the audience a man of foreign aspect. He had a grave and intelligent face, but was evidently poor in this world's goods. His clothing was clean, but almost threadbare; and he seemed to shun observation. He always sat quite near the door, and the moment the service was concluded, he went out, not with indecent haste, but speaking to no one.

"Upon a certain Wednesday evening, when only a few were present, the pastor reached him as he was leaving the house, and, extending his hand, said, 'You are a stranger among us, and I wish to bid you welcome.' The man turned and replied with perfect self-possession and with marked German accent, 'Once I was a stranger from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world; but now, thanks to His grace, no more a stranger and foreigner, but a fellow citizen with the saints and of the household of God.' He bowed and went his way without another word. The pastor thought he was a crank, who had rejected his well-meant advances and dismissed him from his mind.

"Soon afterwards the young minister started for Europe, discouraged, despondent, and fretting like a caged bear

under the malady that had silenced him. While waiting in New York for the sailing of his vessel, a number of letters came to him and one which was placed in a coarse yellow envelope. Opening it, he found six pages of cheap cap paper, covered with close and cramped writing. Glancing at the bottom, he saw a German name, and he threw the letter into his trunk with a sigh, saying, 'Oh, dear me; here is a German who wants money to build his meetinghouse; and I have no money to give him and no heart to read this long rigmarole setting forth reasons why he should be helped above all others on the face of the earth. There will be time enough to read it on the sea.

"But constant and terrible seasickness all the way across the Atlantic banished the letter and every other subject from the thoughts. A visit of two weeks to London was filled with interest; the letter was forgotten. A still longer stay in Paris under medical treatment did not bring it to mind. But one day in Switzerland, when the weather was too inclement to permit outdoor exercise, and while emptying the trunk for some purpose, the neglected letter was soon discovered and led to keen self-reproach for the ungenerous treatment the writer had received.¹⁾

"He began with an apology for his intrusion and for his awkward use of the English language, as he was trying to express himself 'not in his mother's tongue.' He then launched out into the bold statement that the pastor to whom he wrote did not preach the Gospel. At this the reader paused a moment and said to his wife with a laugh, 'Here is a Dutchman who says I do not preach the Gospel; I wonder if he can teach me.' Thank God, he did teach

him, and before the reading was finished, the minister was on his knees before the Lord in confession and humiliation.

"The letter is still in existence, and in substance it is as follows: 'No doubt, you are sincere; no doubt, you are trying to do good; but you are evidently afraid to proclaim the Gospel without any "if's," or "and's," or "but's." You tell people, it is true, to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and they shall be saved; but you invariably add some conditions or consequences that must lead them to trust partly in Christ and partly in themselves for salvation. You tell them to believe, and then you tell them that they must be baptized and join the church and strive to lead holy lives as the ground of their salvation. Now, if you would insist upon these things as the fruits of faith, it would be right; but when you put them before your hearers as something that must be done in order to gain salvation, and as a reason why God saves us, it is all wrong. You speak as if you would shrink from our Lord's own words: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on Me *hath* everlasting life." You evidently dare not leave a soul hanging to that alone in the confidence of a calm and unfaltering assurance that all is well.'

"He rebuked the pastor for directing sinners 'to keep on praying until God is merciful.' He challenged him to point out one place in the Bible that gives any such direction; and he asked how the minister could know that these sinners would not be in hell before they could reach home to pray. He cited Scripture after Scripture to show that the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost by the Apostles teach an immediate, certain, and everlasting salvation to every one that believeth; and he so swept the scene of all feelings, all

efforts, all ordinances, that Christ was left alone on the field of His conflict and victory, the only object that fixed the astonished and admiring gaze of the young minister, in the infinite sufficiency of His atoning death, a present, almighty, and unchangeable Savior. Christ had been trusted before, but not apart from every other ground of confidence.

"The letter closed with the words: 'Dear brother, please to preach the Gospel without any human additions to it.' The pastor returned to this country and made diligent search for this faithful friend, who, he learned, was an humble schoolteacher; but he was already gone to be with the Lord, and the privilege of knowing and thanking the witness of God's truth is reserved until 'our gathering together unto Him.'" (Brookes returned to America after the Civil War had begun. In the meantime Rector Schick had moved with the college department of our St. Louis institution to Fort Wayne. In this way the mistake that the writer of that letter had died may be accounted for, or — and perhaps more probably — the persons from whom Brookes sought information made a mistake and confounded Schick with another teacher at our St. Louis institution, A. Biewend, who had died several years before.)

"Very often has the voice, now silent, sounded in the ear and heart of the instructed servant of Christ. 'Preach the Gospel without any human additions to it.' It has helped him to preach, not about Christ, but Christ as a personal Savior; not Christ and something else to deliver us from the curse and dominion of sin, but a living Christ, who is able and willing to save, upon the act and instant of believing, the very chief of sinners. Of course, this is unpopular even in the Church, so closely does human nature cleave to the

idea of personal merit and churchly observance as adding to the value of Christ's work; but such teaching is another gospel."

Of course, I tried to get hold of Rector Schick's letter, for he was that "teacher," but I did not succeed. Brookes' two daughters were married to prominent men in St. Louis, one to an attorney, Selden P. Spencer, who also for several years was a United States Senator, and the other to a well-known broker, Harry S. Knight. I knew their husbands and inquired of them, but it seems the letter was destroyed at some time, which happens so often with interesting and historically valuable letters. I might also call attention to a little story about this matter written after a visit on my part in Colorado with one of our younger missionaries.²⁾ And when Brookes several years before his death lectured in Tennessee, Rector Schick's son-in-law, Pastor Julius A. Friedrich, called on him and told him that his spiritual benefactor was still living.

THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE FACULTY IN FORT WAYNE

I SHALL briefly mention in alphabetical order the other professors who were on the faculty while I was at the Fort Wayne College from 1877 to 1882. I feel that I owe much to all of them.

Prof. Rudolph A. Bischoff was our teacher in Latin in the lower and middle classes, and although he had some peculiarities, he was a good teacher. He was especially qualified to impress upon the minds of the students the rudiments of Latin grammar. He understood what in German is called "pauken," drilling. He served as instructor for four of my five years and as president the last year, after Professor Zucker had resigned from the presidency. Then he accepted a call into the ministry at Bingen, Ind., a country charge, of which place he once remarked jokingly in the *Lutheran Pioneer*, the English monthly paper devoted to our Negro Missions and very ably edited by him, that he was located not in Bangor, Maine, and not in "fair Bingen on the Rhine," but in just plain Bingen, Adams County, Ind., Adams County being the rural neighboring county to Allen County, in which Fort Wayne is located. The older former college boys will remember historic Adams County,



The Fort Wayne Faculty in 1879—1880

Standing, left to right: F. W. Stelling, R. Bischoff, F. Zucker, A. Crull

Sitting: H. Duemling, G. Schick, H. W. Diederich

where Wyneken also worked in his Fort Wayne days. In those days at Bingen, Bischoff prevailed upon Frank Lan-kenau to study for the ministry, whose blessed work as missionary among the colored people, as pastor in Napoleon, Ohio, and as Vice-President of our Synod is well remembered. In those years, and even up to the present time, changes in the presidency of our colleges took place quite frequently. The men in that office felt that no one should remain in such a position too long, and they also became more or less weary of the many external matters to which they had to attend and of the many troubles this office entailed. Professor Crull, who would have been an ideal director and who had been asked officially or unofficially to take over that position, coined the lines regarding this office:

Wer es kennt, der will es nicht;

Wer es will, der kennt es nicht.

(He who knows it, does not desire it;

He who desires it, does not know it.)

One reason for Crull's declining the office was also this, that a director hardly has time to continue his favorite studies. After some years in the ministry Professor Bischoff was recalled to Fort Wayne as instructor in English, a position for which he was also well qualified and which he filled until he became incapacitated.

Prof. Henry W. Diederich was our teacher in English, a position for which he was quite well qualified, English having been more or less his mother tongue; he had also spent some time in pursuing graduate studies in this field. While he had a fine knowledge and understanding of the English language and literature, his eyes gave him so much

trouble that he was not able to devote his full time and energy to his office. He therefore resigned and entered the consular service of the United States, being located first at Leipzig, then at Magdeburg, later on at Antwerp, Belgium, and finally in Sarnia, Ontario. I met him, as I did all my former professors, repeatedly in later years, once in Washington, where he was employed temporarily as secretary to the Congressional Committee of which the well-known Representative Richard Bartholdt from St. Louis was chairman.

Prof. August Crull was a master of the German language, although he also understood English very well, having translated quite a number of standard German hymns into that language. He compiled the Hymnbook issued by the Norwegian Publishing House in Decorah, Iowa, in 1879 and also used in our Church, and he presented the manuscript of the first English Hymnbook to the General English Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States, later the English Synod of Missouri, which became our present English District in 1911. The book was published in 1889. Crull was a great favorite among the college boys, knowing very well how to treat them and imbuing them with an understanding of, and love for, the German language and literature. He was the author of a German grammar and of some smaller books, was also a fine poet, as his two collections of poems *Gott gruesse dich* and *Gott troeste dich*, containing some of his own productions, indicate. He had been pastor in Grand Rapids, Mich., in the days when my father was President of that District, who always held him in high esteem. He was also well acquainted with the

Sievers family, which was so close to our family. For that reason I was invited quite often to his home and learned to know his wife, a daughter of Prof. Adolf Biewend, who was such an excellent teacher in the fifties of the last century when our college was located in St. Louis, but who died in the prime of life. Mrs. Crull was a very kind and gracious woman, and it was a pleasure to sit at her table. She was rather frail and died of tuberculosis not long after I had left Fort Wayne. Professor Crull had to bury also three of his children; only the youngest son, Dr. Eric Crull, survived him and for a number of years was college physician in Fort Wayne. Biewend's widow lived with her daughter and son-in-law, and so I also learned to know that estimable lady, who was of French-Swiss origin and in more than one respect a very interesting woman. She gave private lessons in French, her mother tongue, and also had a good command of the English, but not so much of the German language. She spoke very interestingly of the old days in the fifties, of Walther, Wyneken, and other fathers. Her presence in the home of Professor Crull enabled the children of the family to learn three languages at the same time: German, English, and French. When grace was to be said, she remarked to the children: *La prière*. Of some of the fathers she once told me that they had met in her home in St. Louis "und haben eine Pfeife gepiffen," instead of saying they "smoked" a pipe. Professor Crull was offered the degree of doctor of divinity by the St. Louis Faculty on account of his very valuable services to our Church in his many years of teaching, but in his modesty did not accept the title. He did not even answer the letter of the Faculty which I had written him about the matter and

which was found only after his death by his second wife, Katharine, nee John, from Milwaukee. I must also mention that Professor Crull was the son of Mrs. A. F. Hoppe, the wife of the well-known editor of Luther's works. She was the young second wife of the Mecklenburg jurist and counselor "Hofrat" Crull, a distinguished official, and was a very gifted musician and singer. After Hofrat Crull's death she married Hoppe, the "Hauslehrer," or private tutor, in their family, and with him came to America, first to New Orleans and then to St. Louis. I shall never forget how much I owe to Professor Crull, an aristocrat from head to foot, with regard to the correct use of the German language and love for good German poetry.

Dr. Herman Duemling, a courteous and kind man, was instructor in mathematics and the natural sciences, and all his former students remember him as an able man in this field, having made a special study of these branches and taken his Ph. D. degree in them in some German university. When he emigrated to America, he first taught with Professor Crull in a private school founded by Pastor F. Lochner and others in Milwaukee, later on at our teachers' college at Addison, and finally for many years at Fort Wayne. He was the author of two volumes on natural history, *Das illustrierte Tierleben* and *Die Voegel*, written in an interesting, popular vein. Having been in his Fort Wayne days co-editor of the *Abendschule*, the well-known German family journal, together with Pastor E. W. Kaehler, he later on accepted the position of editor in chief of the *Germania* in Milwaukee, a German weekly and daily published by George Brumder.

Prof. F. W. Stellhorn was our teacher in Greek and also for some time in Hebrew. He, like Bischoff, Diederich, and Crull, studied in St. Louis, had been minister for a short while, was then called to Northwestern College of the Wisconsin Synod in Watertown, Wis., in the days when it was the plan of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference to work together in the field of higher education, and from there was transferred to Fort Wayne. While he was an able teacher in Greek and while I owe much of my love for the Greek language to him, he did not succeed so well in Hebrew. I had Greek with him in Quarta and Tertia, also in Secunda, but when the Predestination Controversy arose in the late seventies and Stellhorn agreed with our opponents, he accepted a call to Columbus, Ohio, at the college and seminary of the Ohio Synod, where he taught partly in the college, but, in later years, almost exclusively, I think, in the theological seminary. He will be remembered as being with F. A. Schmidt and H. A. Allwardt the chief opponent in that controversy, and he remained an opponent to the last. He was also an author, publishing a brief dictionary of the Greek New Testament, a volume in the *Lutheran Commentary*, a volume on the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul, and was quite a voluminous contributor to the periodicals of his church body. He had married my cousin, the daughter of Dr. E. E. Buenger in Perry County, Mo., one of the four Buenger brothers who had emigrated with the Saxons in 1838. A number of times I was invited to his home and also got to know his children; two of his sons became well-known pastors of the Ohio Synod, the present American Lutheran Church. While in the earlier stages of the controversy he wielded a rather

sharp pen in his tracts and articles, one incident, I think, should also be recorded. In the twenties of the present century he and Dr. Pieper were accosted by a pastor of the Ohio Synod who had studied at our Springfield Seminary and were asked to get together and once more consider the whole matter of the controversy, because they were the only two living combatants who had gone through the whole years of the controversy and the several intersynodical conferences that had been held in the first decade of the present century. Dr. Pieper was willing; so was Dr. Stellschorn. But when the latter requested to have an assistant present, the well-known Dr. R. C. H. Lenski, the matter came to nought, because it was the understanding of both parties that it should be a private, informal discussion of the doctrines of predestination and conversion. Dr. Pieper permitted me to read the letters that pertained to the matter. Stellschorn left Fort Wayne in 1881, just a short time before the important delegate convention of our church body took place, where the matter was settled as far as our Synod was concerned. His place was taken temporarily by Dr. O. Siemon, who later was called as full professor; but he did not become my teacher.

And now I must mention one of my teachers in Fort Wayne who in later years was very, very close to me, *Prof. Frederick Zucker*. He was a Bavarian by birth, coming from that section of the country from which the Franconians in Michigan came, received a fine education in Bavaria, especially at the University of Erlangen under the well-known teachers who also were the teachers of Dr. G. Stoeckhardt and Dr. C. M. Zorn: Thomasius, Hoeffling, Hofmann, and others. One of his close student friends was

Frederick Hashagen, who after having taught some years in the seminary of the Leipzig Mission Society held the chair of Practical Theology in the University of Rostock. Hashagen was the author of valuable theological works, for instance, on the Seven Letters of the Apocalypse, and of one of the finest appreciations of J. S. Bach. Zucker decided, together with his lifelong friend Pastor Zorn, to enter the foreign mission work of the Leipzig Mission Society, and after having spent some time at the Mission Seminary in Leipzig under Director Julius Hardeland, he went to India, where he married the daughter of the outstanding Leipzig missionary Carl Fred. Kremmer. Later he was one of the four missionaries who left the Leipzig Mission because Prof. C. E. Luthardt of the Leipzig University, one of the members or advisers of the Missionary Board in Germany, had attacked important doctrines of the Lutheran Church and had also assailed the Missouri Synod. These missionaries were all acquainted to some extent with our Synod, their former instructor Hardeland having directed them to Walther's *Kirche und Amt* as the best contribution to that moot question in those days and presenting the true Lutheran doctrine. So when the Mission Board in Leipzig did not heed the conscientious scruples of the four missionaries, Zorn, Zucker, Willkomm, and Grubert, they resigned. Zorn and Zucker came to America in 1876 and joined the Missouri Synod, while Willkomm returned to Germany and became one of the founders and later president of the Saxon Free Church. Zucker first was assistant to Pastor Weisel in Brooklyn and then became his successor; but because he was known to be an excellent scholar and instructor, he was called as Hanser's successor to the presidency of

the college in Fort Wayne and held this office from 1879 to 1881. There I got to know him. He was my instructor in religion, especially in sacred history, later on also in world history. While he was a very efficient and faithful teacher and a devout Christian and a good theologian, he was not so well acquainted at that time with American educational ideas and American boys, and therefore thought it best to resign as director and take over a professorship, for which he was exceptionally well qualified. I was a member of his class in history in Prima, respected him highly, and owe much to his instruction. Later he became the chief instructor in Greek, especially after Rector Schick relinquished more and more of his duties, and continued in this position to a ripe old age. On account of his theological attainments he was given the honorary title of doctor of divinity by the faculty of the St. Louis Seminary; and it was my privilege to confer that degree upon him and another fatherly friend of mine, Prof. Joseph Schmidt. Since Zucker had been in India, he at once was elected a member of the Board for Foreign Missions in 1893, when our Church undertook this work, and he really conducted the affairs of that mission until a younger man was called, first Pastor J. A. Friedrich and later on, as a full-time man, Pastor F. Brand. Since I was also a member of that Mission Board from 1899 to 1920, I can best testify to the excellent service which he rendered to that blessed work in the difficult early years. But Zucker became much closer to me because in 1896 I married his oldest daughter and was in constant touch with him up to his death in 1927. How much I owe to him, how I respected his sincerity, good judgment, true piety, and devotion is a chapter for itself.



ENTERING THE SEMINARY IN ST. LOUIS

IN the fall of 1882 I entered the Seminary at St. Louis with the members of my class, then numbering 25, but numbering 29 upon our graduation from the Seminary in 1885. These three years, from 1882 to 1885, were indeed up to that time the most important years in my life, and as I look back upon these days my heart is filled with gratitude to the Lord and to my beloved teachers who taught me theology during this period. And they were memorable years also in another way. Our Church had gone through the most serious doctrinal controversy in the preceding years, and although the matter had practically been settled, the aftermath was still very strongly felt in Synod, in the Seminary in and out of the classroom, and in some congregations. I had seen my St. Louis teachers before, since it was my privilege to attend the sessions of the Delegate Synod in 1881 in Fort Wayne and the conference of the pastors of the Missouri Synod following that memorable convention. I am calling it a memorable convention, because it settled the Predestination Controversy as far as our Synod was concerned, and I would like to say something about this controversy as far as it

came under the observation of the college boys, who as a rule are not too much interested in such matters. But it was different with me and with a number of my friends. Living in a parsonage, I had naturally heard about this controversy. It was the general topic of conversation whenever ministers met. And while it is not the object of these reminiscences to speak about the beginnings of the controversy, some things may be mentioned. As stated previously, one of the protagonists in this controversy, Prof. F. W. Stellhorn, was our teacher in Quarta, Tertia, and Secunda; and the prime mover in that controversy, Prof. F. A. Schmidt of the Norwegian Seminary, at that time in Madison, Wis., was well known to my father, and I still have several letters addressed by him to my father with regard to this matter which are of interest for the historian of this period. Just before the first General Conference of Missouri Synod pastors was held at Chicago in September, 1880, the new church in Frankenmuth was dedicated, and quite a number of pastors were assembled on that occasion, among them Prof. August Craemer of Springfield, who delivered the German sermon, and Professor Crull of Fort Wayne, who spoke in English. I remember very well how my father, in a lengthy discussion at the table, made his position in the matter very clear and told the ministers who were to leave the following day for the Conference in Chicago not to come back with the "*intuitu fidei*," that is to say, that we are elected to eternal life *in view of faith*. While he himself had used that term in former years in the same sense in which some of the later Lutheran dogmaticians had used the phrase, he was very definite in rejecting all synergism, was a careful reader of the articles that had

appeared in the *Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre* and in the two synodical reports of the conventions of the Western District of the Missouri Synod held in 1877 and 1879, where the doctrine of predestination was presented by Dr. Walther. When the report of that pastoral conference in 1880 appeared, some of my classmates, like Conrad Engelder, George Link, Louis Dorn, and myself, were very anxious to read that report, and we also discussed it as far as we were able to do so. And then followed that important general convention of our church body in 1881 in Fort Wayne, where I again saw Dr. Walther, who had visited in our home in 1875; and I saw for the first time Pastor Stoeckhardt and Professor Pieper and the other venerable men of the St. Louis faculty. The reason for mentioning just these two is that with Walther they were the chief spokesmen in this matter at the convention proper and at the pastoral conference following it. I remember very well overhearing on the balcony of St. Paul's Church in Fort Wayne the remark of some one saying of Professor Pieper, "Wer ist denn der junge Kerl, der so viel in dieser wichtigen Sache zu sagen hat und so gut spricht?" (Who is that young fellow who has so much to say in this important matter and says it so well?) I remember also that these men, in those trying days, came out to the college one evening and listened to a program which the students had arranged for the delegates to the convention, in which I participated in some musical offerings as they were perpetrated in those days. And when Dr. Walther saw my name on the program, he asked for me, and I was ushered into that corner of the aula where the outstanding guests were sitting, was greeted very kindly by Walther and urged by all means not to follow

the example of my only brother, who entered the medical career, but to come to St. Louis to study theology and thereby perpetuate the family name in the ministerial list of the Missouri Synod. Although at that time I did not fully realize what this meant, I assured him that I would come, and I have never regretted the step.

In the following chapters I shall speak of my instructors at St. Louis and in that way include a number of recollections of my Seminary years.

CARL FERDINAND WILHELM WALTHER

I

FOREMOST on the St. Louis Seminary faculty was, of course, Dr. Walther. It will not be necessary to give the details of Dr. Walther's life, since this has been done in several biographies. I mention especially Guenther's *Dr. C. F. W. Walther. Ein Lebensbild*, first written for the *Lutheraner* and then appearing in book form; Pastor D. H. Steffens' *Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther*; and the briefer *Story of C. F. W. Walther* written by Dr. W. G. Polack and intended especially for the youth of our Church. Even before these biographies appeared a short *Life of Rev. Prof. C. F. W. Walther, D. D.*, was written by Pastor C. L. Janzow. I might also call attention to the fact that I published two volumes of Walther's letters covering the years 1841–1871 and containing not only very valuable historical material, so that Dr. Geo. J. Fritschel in his *Sources and Documents* for the history of the Iowa Synod and Dr. Carl Mauelshagen in his *American Lutheranism Surrenders to Forces of Conservatism* mention these letters among the source books for the history of the Missouri Synod, but also many interesting personal details. I must add that Walther's son-in-law Pastor J. H. Niemann of Cleveland began to collect Walther's letters and turned



Dr. C. F. W. Walther in the Forties

them over to me before he died. I have also been able to add quite a number of letters which were given to me either in the original or which I had copied from the original. My sincere regret is that not more of these letters could be published because the publisher was not satisfied with the sale of these two volumes. But all these letters will become and remain part of our historical collections in the Concordia Historical Institute at St. Louis and may be consulted by anyone interested in them. They contain quite important matters pertaining to the history of our Synod from 1872 practically up to Walther's old age. The last letter is dated shortly before his death, which occurred on May 7, 1887. But here I would like to give personal reminiscences of him and some happenings in his life which have never been printed and are not known to the present generation.

I saw Walther for the first time in 1875, when I was a schoolboy eleven years of age. At that time Walther was general President of our Synod and attended the convention of the Northern (now the Michigan) District in Saginaw, Mich., not very far from our home in Frankenmuth. Since Walther and my father were old-time friends and fellow students at Leipzig, and since my mother was the sister of his wife, Walther spent Saturday afternoon and Sunday in our home. While I naturally remained at a distance, I still had a chance to observe him and listen to the conversation at the table, chiefly theological and sometimes beyond me. I also remember that my mother, who undoubtedly had cooked a good dinner, was very much troubled because Walther and my father did not appear at the time she expected them, but much later. But there was a reason for this delay. One of the elders of our church

had asked for the privilege of conveying Walther from Saginaw to Frankenmuth, and that was the well-known John Bierlein, familiarly called, since he had several brothers, the "Wasser-Bierlein," because his home and farm were located right on the Cass River. I cannot refrain from saying something about this excellent lay theologian of our Synod, probably the best-informed lay theologian whom I have ever met and whom I buried when I was pastor in Frankenmuth. Walther had met Bierlein before this, because the latter was one of the colloquists of the Missouri Synod with the men of the Iowa Synod at the notable *colloquium*, or conference, held in 1867. The official report of that colloquy contains his name, and Walther, in one of his letters to my father, makes the following remark concerning this meeting: "Give my regards to our dear Bierlein. Of the lay colloquists he was undoubtedly the favorite of those that attended the colloquy. His simplicity and faithfulness [Naiv-taet und Treuherzigkeit] combined with a clear mind and humor [Mutterwitz] and good knowledge of the Catechism called forth general pleasure as often as he took the floor. His Franconian dialect was for all more a flavor than a reason of disparagement. May God give us more such laymen! He seems to me to be a character pure as gold."¹) But Bierlein's horses were not very fast, and, aside from this, when he was engaged in theological discussions, he forgot that he was also the driver and permitted the horses to follow their own pace, and thus probably double time was spent on the road. Walther and Bierlein were such good friends, I might say, that the latter when speaking of those bygone days used to introduce what he told me with this phrase: "Ich und der Wolther and der Wynéken."

Then I saw Walther again at the notable general conven-

tion of our Synod at Fort Wayne in 1881, the so-called "Gnadenwahlsynode," where the well-known thirteen theses on that doctrine were adopted. At that time we college boys (I was in the second-highest class, *Secunda*) were so interested in the discussions and deliberations that we quite regularly attended the sessions, and in this way I received an impression of Walther's outstanding ability in leadership at conventions and similar gatherings and of his clear presentation of the matters under discussion. He was great as a preacher, as a teacher, as a writer, but I agree with Dr. Schwan's judgment, stated many years after Walther's death, that in his opinion Walther was greatest on the floor of Synod, when he spoke without lengthy preparation and more offhand.

That convention was followed by the second General Pastoral Conference on the Predestination Controversy, also held in Fort Wayne, when the bond of fellowship was practically severed between our Synod and those members who held the synergistic doctrine.

In the following year I entered the Seminary at St. Louis, and in my first year had to read my first sermon to Walther, as was the custom in those days, although he was not our teacher in homiletics. He "demolished" that first effort of mine, something that happened quite frequently in those days as now, but praised the text which I had selected, Hos. 13:9, and criticized what I had written in such a friendly, fatherly way that I could not feel discouraged, but rather encouraged, and he even dictated a fitting introduction to the theme. When listening to and criticizing such student sermons, he always insisted, as every sound teacher of homiletics will do, that they be textual, logical, and, above all, truly evangelical, and couched in language which any-

one could understand. One of my student friends told me that the first sentence of his sermon read: "Die Lehre von der Rechtfertigung ist sozusagen die Basis der ganzen christlichen Lehre" (the doctrine of justification is, so to speak, the basis of all Christian doctrine). Walther did not like the word "Basis" and exclaimed, looking intently at the student: "Was?" (a favorite expression with him). "Was? Die Basis? What will the poor plain man think when he hears that word."

Then, for two years, I was his student in Dogmatics and for one year in Pastoral Theology. Although he was over seventy years of age, he was still in perfect mental and physical vigor. The course in Dogmatics, according to the custom in those days, was conducted in Latin. Our textbook was the well-known compend of Baier, edited with valuable additions by Walther himself. Walther addressed us in Latin, and we had to answer in Latin, and in this way we learned to understand and also to speak it quite well. But when explaining a certain point more definitely and exactly, he also used the German language, so that I have my notes, which I have quite often consulted in later years, in German in my interleaved copy of Baier. In Pastoral Theology again his own textbook was used, and the course was conducted entirely in German. As a practical course Walther also conducted the catechetical exercises. We had to write out a complete catechesis, and several boys from the neighboring Holy Cross School were sent over for that hour, and Walther, before he discussed the matter with us, always gave each one of them a dime from his own pocket, and insisted upon doing this, quite a sum for spending money in those days.

Since Walther was my uncle and his wife my mother's sister, I was invited to his home many a time, especially for Sunday dinner, met notable men at the table, and listened intently to what Walther had to say, for even if no visitor was present, he was naturally the speaker. I regret that



Dr. Walther's Residence

I did not put into writing what he said on such occasions and thus start a little volume of "Tischreden," "Table Talk," of Walther, on the plan of Luther's famous *Tischreden* or Colloquia. Occasionally he also sent me on errands, and I remember very well that I took the distinguished naturalist Alfred Brehm from the hotel to Walther's home for dinner and again back to the hotel, traveling, of course, in

the rather primitive streetcars drawn by mules. Brehm, who was on a lecture tour in our country, was related through his wife to Walther's wife and had asked for an interview. Walther entertained him at dinner (I was also at the table), and it was a most interesting experience to listen to these very different men. In parting, Walther presented him with his *Postil*, and Brehm assured me in the hotel that he would read it carefully, and in return he sent Walther his autographed photograph. He also gave me, his "kleiner amerikanischer Vetter," his picture and an admission card to all his lectures in St. Louis, and requested me to gather for him the American data for his family tree, which I was only too glad to do. Unfortunately Brehm took sick while traveling in our country and died soon after his return to Germany in November, 1884, but after the First World War, I had some correspondence with his daughters.

A theologian outside our own circles whom I remember very well as having met at Walther's table was the excellent Norwegian theologian and leader President Vilhelm Koren, a gentleman from head to foot, the father of two of my classmates and friends in St. Louis.

In 1885, shortly after my graduation, Walther's faithful wife passed away, a great loss to him in his old age. Fortunately he was well taken care of during his last two years by Catherine Huesemann, who had been in his home for a number of years, an excellent housekeeper, who observed very faithfully and conscientiously what she had learned from Mrs. Walther. I saw Walther again, after a year, in Detroit at the meeting of the Synodical Conference, when Prof. A. L. Graebner of Milwaukee presented an essay on

the doctrine of inspiration; Walther had prepared himself so carefully for this meeting that he had quite a number of quotations and notes which he used in the discussion. But very soon after this convention he was taken sick, and although he was able to lead the doctrinal discussions at the convention of the Western District in October, 1886, and to finish his own series of essays on the topic "that only the doctrine of the Lutheran Church gives God all honor and that therefore the doctrine of this Church is the only true one,"²⁾ he was then in a very feeble condition. He closed in a hardly audible voice with the following beautiful words of exhortation:

"Thus we have finished our theses which we have discussed for thirteen years, in which it has been shown that our Lutheran Church gives God alone all honor in all these doctrines and never accords the honor which belongs to the great God to the creature. What is God's due she gives Him wholly. May God help us not only gladly to be members of such a Church, but also to give Him all honor in our faith, confession, life, suffering, and death. The motto of our life must be: *Soli Deo gloria*, all honor to God alone. Thus the angels sang immediately after the birth of the Savior. That was the first thing, and it is also the chief thing. Through Jesus, God has again received His honor. Ours is nothing but dishonor, but by God again receiving His honor we have eternal salvation. Blessed are all those who believe this with a true heart! They shall see all the holy angels sitting at the right hand of God and continue the hymn of God's honor, praise, and glory from eternity to eternity. God help us, dear brethren, to be among this number and then really from all our heart give all honor to

our dear God. Here we are not able to do this. Our infamous flesh cleaves to us, but there, when God has taken our old flesh from us, our doctrine will be not only a theory, but we shall also practice it. O Lord Jesus, help us all to do this. Amen.”³⁾

After that meeting he had to give up all his work. He gradually grew weaker and weaker, without suffering from a definite malady aside from old age, but was able to sit up when the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the ministry was celebrated on the Second Sunday after Epiphany, January 16, 1887. And the last time I saw him was when he rested in his coffin at his funeral.

But I would like to add a few words about that funeral. When the time approached for the convention of our Synod at Fort Wayne, Walther's colleagues in the Faculty had to leave the city, but Pastor Stoeckhardt of Holy Cross Church, living right across from Dr. Walther's house, remained at home in order to be near him from day to day in his last hours. His death came on Saturday, May 7, and, of course, was at once announced to the convention and soon became known all over Synod. I was able to announce his death to my congregation on Sunday, and in the evening I left for Fort Wayne. There I was present at a most impressive memorial service held by the convention. On one morning at the opening of the daily session the Litany was prayed, and this old Christian hymn, which Luther cleansed from all errors of the mediaeval centuries and of which he thought so much, never made a deeper impression upon me. We sang it according to the well-known tune, and Pastor H. G. Sauer, who had a very fine voice, was the liturgist. All the members present were on their knees. And then Synod

requested that the funeral be postponed, so that the delegates, especially the pastors, could attend after the close of the convention. Accordingly his funeral took place on the 17th of May, and also this service I shall never forget. I think it was the largest funeral I ever attended. The body had been taken first to the rotunda of the Seminary, where students acted as an honor guard day and night after it



Dr. Walther's Bedroom in Which He Died

had been placed on a specially constructed catafalque. Pastor Stoeckhardt had held a service in the home for the immediate relatives before the body was taken to the Seminary, and also spoke on 1 Cor. 2:2 at a service in the chapel on Sunday, May 15, in his usual simple, but most impressive manner. From the Seminary the body was taken to Old Trinity Church, and there two men preached — very different men, but their sermons were equally powerful and unique. President Schwan spoke on the basis of the 90th

Psalm in his usual rather quiet, but also very impressive way. He was followed by Walther's lifelong friend and sometime colleague Prof. Aug. Craemer of Springfield. I shall never forget how Craemer approached the altar and in his own, I might almost say, "leidenschaftlich," impassioned, manner, the words rang out from his lips: "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof." Space forbids the mention of other details, but I remember that a student choir sang a very beautiful anthem, which I still have in my files. The text was composed by Pastor W. Achenbach of St. Louis, a gifted poet, and began with the words, "Nun ruhe aus, Du teurer Gottesstreiter." The music was a composition by Moehring which fitted the text very well. At the cemetery Prof. L. Larsen of the Norwegian Synod, also a sometime colleague of Walther, gave a brief address. And now Walther, at the side of his faithful wife, rests on Concordia Cemetery in a mausoleum built by the churches of St. Louis.

Four of Walther's six children survived when he died, two sons, Ferdinand and Constantine, twins, and two daughters, Magdalene and Julia. Ferdinand was pastor in Brunswick, Mo., for many years, and one of his sons, Theodore, is minister in St. Louis. The older daughter was married to Pastor Stephanus Keyl, the well-known immigrant missionary of our Church in New York, the younger to Pastor J. H. Niemann, Wyneken's successor in Cleveland, Ohio, and sometime President of the Central District of our Synod. In the Keyl family the fourth generation is serving our Church in the ministerial office, on Walther's side as well as on the side of Pastor E. G. W. Keyl, one of the immigrant Saxon fathers like Walther.

CARL FERDINAND WILHELM WALTHER

II

KNOWING the interest taken in Dr. Walther's person and life by the younger generation, it may not be amiss to record some more personal reminiscences and speak of what I have seen, heard, and observed. And I also would like to correct a mistake regarding his name which I have found repeatedly in print. His first name was not Carl nor Wilhelm, but Ferdinand. In his early years, for instance, in his diary, he signed himself simply as "F. Walther." Later his signature was always "C. F. W. Walther" and as such has gone down in history.

Walther's physical appearance was striking, as everyone who will look closely at a good photograph of him will find. He was a rather small man, about five feet and five or six inches, rather lean — I think he weighed no more than about 140 pounds. Among the Saxon immigrants he was called "der kleine Walther," to distinguish him from his brother O. Herman Walther, not only because he was younger, but undoubtedly also on account of his stature. He had quite a prominent nose and a remarkable head, and this was noticed the more because when I first knew him he was quite bald. This was brought to my attention in a

somewhat peculiar way. On some festival occasion celebrated in the open air, Walther had taken off his hat, either when he spoke or when prayer was said, and someone in a large crowd near me observed, "What a remarkable head!" Later I found out that the man who said this was a sculptor and had a special eye for remarkable features. Being not



Dr. Walther's Study

at all heavily built, Walther suffered considerably in cold weather. His study was a very large room, the wall between two rooms having been taken out in order to give him ample space for his large library, but in cold weather he could not get warm, since there were no furnaces in those days. He sat quite close to his stove, garbed in a long and heavily lined "Schlafrock" (robe), and sometimes, if I am not mistaken, even in a fur coat that had been pre-

sented to him by a well-to-do friend in New York. There he sat and smoked a long pipe, so that he was sometimes really enveloped in blue smoke. He wore the usual dress of ministers in those days: a black suit and a long coat — at least I have never seen him in any other clothes — and I think a grey suit would not have found favor with him, because he thought that a minister should always appear in proper clothing. He wore, as his pictures will show, a high soft collar, the style which was called “Vatermoerder” (paricide) in those days, and a white cloth, or “Halsbinde,” wound around it, not at all a tie as we know it today. The little beard which he had fitted in very nicely. No one could fail to notice his fiery, piercing eyes. He had no natural teeth when I got to know him, having lost them as a result of fever in earlier years and pyorrhea in later years, and he could not get used to artificial teeth. But his enunciation, even in his old age, in the pulpit and in the classroom, was very clear and distinct.

When listening to him, especially in the classroom and on the floor of conventions, one perceived at once his keen mind — clear in thinking and debating and quick at repartee, “schlagfertig,” as they say in German. (The latter trait he inherited from his father, of whom interesting anecdotes were told.) He was a learned theologian in every respect, but especially a dogmatician, particularly at home in Luther’s writings, and I think no one in those days could match him in the knowledge of Luther; and next to Luther he was very well read in Johann Gerhard’s great and comprehensive work *Loci theologici*. I heard him say more than once that after Luther he had learned most from Gerhard, and, as is well known, he showed this learning already at the

Altenburg debate in Perry County, Mo., in 1841, where he not only held his own against the gifted lawyer Franz Adolf Marbach, but also showed in a clear and convincing manner that in spite of all the weaknesses and mistakes of the Saxon immigrants, they were still a *church*. In order to find pertinent passages of Luther readily, he had a cabinet with many pigeon holes, and he filled these with excerpts from Luther, Gerhard, and other writers according to a certain system of arrangement; and everything, including the necessary references, he had copied with his own hand. Of course, there was no typewriter in those days, neither did he write shorthand. He had no secretarial help whatever. Several times Synod resolved to give him such assistance. When Dr. Preuss came from Germany, he was to act as some kind of secretary, and I have a letter written by Preuss to my father at the request of Walther; later Pastor E. W. Kaehler was to do similar work, but it seems that Walther could not make use of their services to any great extent. His Luther quotations were always taken from Walch's edition, which he considered the best extant, and for that reason our own St. Louis Edition of Luther's works was based on Walch's edition.

In the classroom he showed an outstanding ability to make things clear to the students and to offer convincing proof from Scripture. This dialectical ability he had undoubtedly learned to a great extent from another of his favorite authors, the dogmatician Johann Andreas Quenstedt, who, as Walther's edition of Baier's *Compend* of dogmatics shows, hundreds of times in his massive tome used the expression "*distinguendum est*," "you must distinguish." Many notes in my textbook of Baier-Walther show this.

As stated above, Walther spoke Latin fluently. He corresponded with my father, at least in the earlier years, in Latin, and he used the Latin form also in addressing and questioning his students in the classroom. He called me by my first name "Ludovice," since I was his nephew; others whose name ended on "er" he addressed in the vocative: "Domine Graebnere," "Domine Doeblere"; and sometimes he confounded their names with famous theologians: Dannenfeldt, for instance, was sometimes called Dannhauer, and Huesemann sometimes Huelsemann; and when the answer was satisfactory, Walther remarked: "Bene respondisti," you have answered well, and if it was poor or wrong, he said: "Male respondisti."

It is well known that Walther was a great preacher. This is the uniform opinion of all those who heard him preach or who read his sermons, several collections of which have been published. His *Postil on the Old Gospels of the Church Year* has been translated into Norwegian. But I would especially call attention to the judgment of a man who, as far as I know, never met Walther and who simply judged of Walther's preaching ability from the *Postil on the Gospels* just mentioned. That was Dr. A. Broemel in his two volumes of *Homiletische Charakterbilder*. After having spoken of preachers like Chrysostom, Augustine, Luther, Schleiermacher, Hofacker, Loehe, and others, the last preacher whom he considers is Walther, and he devotes to him not less than thirty pages. I had the privilege of hearing Walther a number of times, especially on festival days and jubilees, and Walther was truly a "Festprediger," a speaker for such occasions. All his sermons were written out carefully, and manuscripts are still extant from 1840

to 1885; but it is rather striking that usually his manuscripts show quite a number of corrections. It seems as if he felt that he could never do full justice to the presentation of the matter. In this respect he was quite different from Dr. Stoeckhardt, also an excellent preacher, especially with regard to expository preaching. I have also seen a number of Stoeckhardt's manuscripts, but I do not remember a single correction. Walther used to memorize his sermons carefully, but in his old age he seemed to feel this a burden, his memory naturally not being so receptive as in younger days. For that reason he was not to be disturbed on Saturday or the day preceding a holiday. I think I can say that he never extemporized. Even his *Kasualpredigten*, or sermons for special occasions, were fully written out. Only in rare cases do his manuscripts consist of an outline with the chief thoughts and phrases written out. Anyone who reads his sermons will find that he always had something to say and not simply had to say something. Before my time, in the days when he preached more frequently, his students very often copied his sermons, and in this way they were read and studied by a large number of our ministers, even if the sermons never appeared in print.

I have already intimated that in my opinion Walther was greatest as a leader of the Church on the floor of conventions. I had the privilege of hearing Walther in 1881 in Fort Wayne, in 1882 in Altenburg, in 1883 and 1884 in St. Louis, in 1886 in Detroit. Even when he spoke extempore his presentation was always clear, convincing, elucidating, and really impressive. These were his outstanding traits, and in this way he became the leader of the Church;

and I still feel the deep impression which Walther made on me and on others on such occasions.

Walther was, of course, if one considers his position in the Church, as President of our Synod and as president and instructor in our Seminary, a very busy man. In his letters he again and again complains of lack of time, but whenever the occasion required it, he was always anxious to give full and complete information. It was indeed a great gift of God that his good wife took care of all the externals and, above all, took the very best care of him. No one who came to his home could fail to observe that she actually revered him. Whenever the meal was ready, she called to him (his study being on the second floor of his house) with the significant German phrase: "Sei so gut," "Sei so gut," please, come. And then Walther came down and took his seat at the table. His table talk also was always very interesting and informative. I do not recall that he spent any words on minor matters, matters of daily life, but his thoughts always centered in religious and theological matters, and no one arose from the table without having learned something.

Walther was very interesting when he had guests at his table. His letters show that he was very generous and hospitable, quite often inviting newcomers from Germany to stay in his home, not only days, but weeks and months. Naturally, he had many visitors, and in entertaining them and conversing with them he was always the perfect gentleman, der "hoefliche Sachse." Thus I remember that one day Dr. Philip Schaff, the well-known church historian and Reformed theologian and founder of the American Society of Church History, at that time professor in Union Theological Seminary in New York, called on him. At the close of his

visit Walther showed him through our new Seminary building, and I had occasion to note that the conversation was quite animated. But also on such occasions Walther never failed to testify. I do not know what was under discussion, but I heard Walther say very emphatically: "Das lehren Sie eben nicht," this you do not teach. And finally I saw that he escorted Dr. Schaff to the streetcar and very courteously bade him adieu. Dr. S. J. Nicolls, for many years pastor of the most prominent Presbyterian church in St. Louis and sometime Moderator of the denomination, accompanied Dr. Schaff on that visit, and he told me more than twenty years later: "It was an unforgettable visit."

It is well known that Walther was an excellent musician and at one time in his youth had even thought of following a musical career. In my student days he quite often, almost regularly, played the organ in Holy Cross Church for the "Hauptlied," or sermon hymn, to be sung by the congregation. The organ at that time was a rather poor instrument, but Walther certainly knew how to make the best of it. He played without any notes, entered into the specific character of the choral, so that everyone was impressed not only by his preludes and interludes (interludes were still the custom then), but especially by leading the congregation to sing the choral as it should be sung. Prof. J. Ph. Koehler of the Wisconsin Synod, a student of Dr. Walther from 1877 to 1880 and an able judge of good music, wrote recently about this matter: "Walther with both hands and feet on the manual and pedals of the pipe organ would conjure up an overwhelming tone panorama and carry the whole congregation with him." Walther also had a gift for poetry, and some of his poems are reprinted in Guenther's biography,

and a few of them were even set to music. One of them, with Walther's own tune, is in the new *Lutheran Hymnal*. I think I can say that only lack of time prevented him from doing more in these two fields, but in the early years of our institution, in the fifties and sixties, Walther conducted, or at least assisted in conducting, the chorus, especially for festival occasions. But, unfortunately, the great musicians of our Church, like Johann Sebastian Bach, were almost forgotten in those days, and I do not remember that Walther played Bach or spoke or wrote about him. On the contrary, some of the works which were presented in those days would not find so much favor nowadays. I happen to know that sometimes Roman Catholic masses were selected for production. I have in my collection of "Waltheriana" Mozart's Second Mass in C in Novello's edition with Latin and English text and also the German text added by Walther himself, as I see from his handwriting. But on another occasion Haydn's *Creation* was presented, and he insisted that the part of Adam and Eve be sung either by a married couple or by young people engaged to be married. In his younger days, before his conversion, he was also familiar with secular music and favored and liked such music. But in later years he held an entirely different opinion. Thus I remember that on one occasion several of us sang merely for our own amusement the "Hunter's Chorus" from the *Freischuetz*: "Was gleicht wohl auf Erden dem Jaegervergnuegen?" It was summertime, and the windows were open. Walther heard it in his study. He at once came over to the Seminary and spoke to us about the matter. He mentioned the fact that just such music had interested him very much in his younger days, particularly music by the Romantic

school, but that he hardly believed that a Christian hunter would sing such a song and intimated that we might sing something more befitting ministerial students. Well, we did not think of this phase of the matter, the words were otherwise unobjectionable, and certainly none of us intended to become a hunter. In fact, I have never been a sportsman, have never hunted, have never owned a gun, and hardly would know how to shoot a shotgun or a revolver.

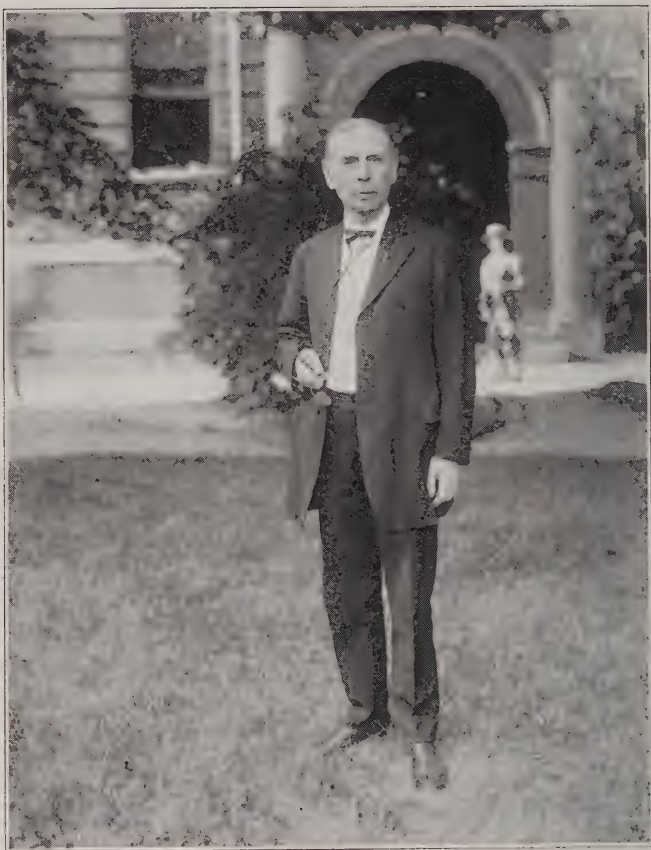
In his college days Walther started to write a diary, but discontinued this very soon for reasons which I can only surmise. This diary is now in my care and makes interesting reading, even if some statements show the spirit prevailing at that time. I have also indicated the great historical value of his many letters, which, as is so often the case, present him from angles which are not so very well known. I can only encourage those who would like to know Walther better to read the biographies which have been published of him, although we still lack a scientific, thorough study of his life and work, and to read his truly edifying letters.

It so happens that as I pen these reminiscences, I am about the same age which Walther attained, and I close with the personal remark that as long as I live, I shall never forget my great and beloved teacher.

PROFESSOR FRANCIS PIEPER

PROF. FRANCIS PIEPER was my teacher in my Seminary days from 1882–1885, and later I became his younger colleague and worked at his side almost 38 years, from September, 1893, up to the time of his death June 3, 1931. So I think I am in a position to speak quite definitely about him. His life had been, comparatively speaking, a quiet life, and still he left a deep impression upon everyone with whom he came into closer contact, especially upon the thousands of students whom he taught from 1878 to 1931, in all, 53 years. And what impressed us all the time was his careful, thorough study of the Scriptures and of the Lutheran writings, especially of the confessional writings and the dogmaticians of our Church.

He was born June 27, 1852, in Pomerania, in that section which the later Director of Missions in Berlin Pastor Wangemann has described in a monograph, *Geistliches Ringen am Ostseestrand*, and where Pastor Gustav Knak, whose life was written by Wangemann, passed his first years in the ministry, until he was called to Berlin. Knak, for whom Dr. Pieper always had a special liking (in my student days he read to us passages from Knak's biography),



Dr. F. Pieper at the Fort Wayne Convention in 1923

will always be remembered as the author of the beautiful "geistliches Volkslied," spiritual song,

Lasst mich gehn,
Lasst mich gehn,
Dass ich Jesum moege sehn.

Pieper was educated at the *Gymnasia* in Koeslin and in Kolberg and already in those days showed great interest and ability in the ancient languages. I remember that at one time when three of us attended a conference and were housed in the same quarters, Professor Bente and I at the urgent request of the host played together, he on the violin, of which he was a master, and I on the piano. Those were the days when the phonograph and the radio had not supplanted the music in the Christian home, as is so frequently the case at the present time. Pieper listened attentively and regretted that he was not able to play and say much about music, but added that his interest was always wrapped up in language studies. And this refers not only to his mother tongue, the German, but he acquired in the course of his teaching years a good command of the English, especially with regard to systematic theology. But above all he always showed great familiarity with the Greek New Testament and also, although not to such a large degree, with the Hebrew Old Testament. His Greek Testament, really brown from old age and much use and containing many notes by his own hand, bears testimony to that. And at the same time he was a master of Latin. He considered Latin the language of scholars, die "Gelehrtensprache," and he really was able to lecture and speak in Latin as well as in German. One of my close friends, Pastor Ferdinand Sievers, who was

a student at the Seminary when after only three years in the ministry Pieper was called to our institution, told me the following: The students, who were of almost the same age, were much interested to see how the young instructor would fit into the position. But when Pieper entered the lecture hall and at once began to speak in Latin, they were convinced that his election to the office was justified.

Perhaps I may refer to an incident showing the difference between Pieper and Stoeckhardt. When the new seminary building was dedicated in 1883, that beautiful building which was wrecked several years ago, but is still well remembered by the older generation, we celebrated two days, and one celebration on the Monday following the dedication proper was conducted in Latin. We not only sang Latin hymns, "*Turris Deus fortissima*" ("A mighty fortress is our God") and "*Veni, Creator Spiritus*" ("Come, Holy Ghost, Creator blest"), but Pieper and Stoeckhardt delivered two Latin orations, both most instructive and interesting, but very different. Stoeckhardt, also able to speak Latin fluently, spoke more according to the pattern of classical Latin and used elegant phrases, showing his fine schooling in that language, which he obtained at the noted "*Fuerstenschule*" of St. Afra in Meissen. Pieper spoke very plain and very intelligible Latin, making more use of the Latin of the church fathers and Lutheran theologians, so-called Church Latin.

In 1870 Pieper emigrated with his mother and four brothers, if I remember rightly, to America (two elder sons preceding them), having lost his father in Germany, and settled in Wisconsin, joining a congregation of the Wisconsin Synod. Also these brothers are well known in our

Church. One became a businessman, but his brother Reinhold, having first studied at Northwestern College at Watertown and then at our Seminary in St. Louis, first became a pastor of the Wisconsin Synod and later professor and president of our Springfield Seminary from 1891 to 1914. He was older than Francis, but was graduated a year later than he, in 1876. Then followed Francis. The third brother was August, for a number of years, 1879 to 1902, pastor in the Wisconsin Synod, and then for many years, from 1902 to the present time, professor of theology at the theological seminary of the Wisconsin Synod, first in Wauwatosa and now in Thiensville, Wis. The fourth brother, Anton, after having studied at Northwestern College and then in St. Louis from 1879 to 1882, also spent all his years in the ministry of the Wisconsin Synod. Among Francis Pieper's classmates at Watertown were Erdmann Pankow and Otto Hoyer, also well-known men, the former sometime professor at our St. Paul's College in Concordia, Mo., and before and after that pastor in the Wisconsin Synod, and Hoyer, sometime professor at the institutions of the Wisconsin Synod at New Ulm, Minn., Watertown, Wis., and Saginaw, Mich.

Francis Pieper entered the Seminary in St. Louis in 1872 and studied there until he was graduated in 1875. Some of his classmates in St. Louis were the two Sievers brothers, Frederick and Bernard, E. Hamann, sometime professor at our Concordia College in Milwaukee, over 90 years of age and still living, John Schlerf, August Senne, well-known pastors in Milwaukee and Buffalo, Henry Kaepfel, professor at the Walther College in St. Louis and later professor and president of St. Paul's College at Concordia, Mo., and

Gustave Spiegel, pastor of our church in Jackson, Mich., and for a number of years President of the Michigan District.

When Pieper studied here, Professor Walther made a deep impression upon him, as I know from many statements; and it is noteworthy that Pieper, always of studious habits and especially interested in dogmatics, read his first sermon on Isaiah 55:1-3 to Walther. I also know that this sermon, presenting the doctrine of grace — and everyone knows that the *gratia Dei* was one of Pieper's chief topics — made such an impression upon Walther that he most probably decided to keep his eye on that young man. After his graduation in 1875 Pieper became pastor in the Wisconsin Synod, from which he came and to which he returned, and in 1878, three years after his graduation, he was elected as professor in St. Louis at the convention of that year held in that city. I have reason to assume that Walther, although very careful in such matters, called attention to the outstanding abilities of the young pastor and was ably supported by Pastor George Link, at that time shepherd of old Zion Church in St. Louis, where Pieper, at least sometimes, worshiped. Synod felt that as Walther at that time was 67 years old, a kind of understudy for him should be selected, who in the course of time might become his successor. And after the death of Walther in 1887 Pieper was selected as professor of Dogmatics and Pastoral Theology, Walther's two branches, and president of the institution. He was certainly well qualified for this position, and no one had a better understanding of Walther as a theologian, as witnessed by his remarkable series of articles on Walther in *Lehre und Wehre*.¹⁾ Even before that he had conducted a repetitorium, or review, of Dogmatics when I was a stu-

dent in the Seminary, but his chief work in those days, since Walther was still able to teach, was confined to the exegesis of St. Luke and Romans in the New Testament and of Psalms in the Old Testament, while Stoeckhardt lectured to the Senior class on Isaiah or Messianic prophecies and Ephesians or First Peter. Aside from that, Pieper gave an extended course in Hermeneutics and read with the class Chemnitz' *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.

When he came to St. Louis, he was still a young man of 26 years, and in outward appearance he seemed to be even younger, as all those who were his students in those early years will remember. Undoubtedly some of his students, among them his own two brothers, were almost as old or older than he, and naturally he was considered more or less of a student himself, but he never lacked the necessary respect on the part of his students. Already in those days, as throughout his life, he was able to warm the hearts of his students for the study of theology and for the ministry of the Gospel. Even at that time he was so familiar with the text of the Greek New Testament that he was able to quote any number of passages from memory, and later on visitors sometimes remarked — one of these visitors was old Dr. G. U. Wenner of New York, a well-known member of the United Lutheran Church — that the professors in St. Louis spoke Latin and Greek as fluently as common men and theologians speak German and English; and students of the Seminary wrote to their former fellow students in the colleges that the St. Louis instructors spoke these ancient languages "wie Wasser." In passing, I may mention that Stoeckhardt in those days required the translation of the Greek and Hebrew original into Latin on the part of his

students. That Pieper in the course of years became one of the best teachers which our Seminary has ever had is known to everyone who knew him, and he held that reputation to his very last years.

Pieper had hardly entered the Faculty, which at that time aside from Walther consisted of Guenther, Schaller, and Lange, when the Predestination Controversy arose, and he at once became one of the chief defenders by word of mouth and in writing of the Biblical Lutheran doctrine of conversion and predestination. One of his adversaries in another Lutheran church body, when referring to an article of Dr. Pieper's, spoke disdainfully of that young man who was still in his theological "swaddling clothes," but before long his antagonists sat up and took notice, being impressed by the clear, able, and comprehensive presentation of dogmatico-historical matters on the part of Pieper.

I saw Pieper for the first time when I was a junior in college at the historically important convention of our Synod at Fort Wayne in 1881 and at the pastoral conference following that convention, where he was one of the chief speakers. Even we college students were impressed by the clear and easy flowing language of Pieper, a characteristic ability of his for which he was well known inside and outside our Church. After that I saw and heard him repeatedly at the general conventions of our church body, in 1884, 1887, 1890, and 1893, at the meetings of the Synodical Conference in Detroit in 1886 and in Milwaukee in 1888, when he delivered that fine essay on *The Unity of Faith*. And he was always kind enough not to ignore his former students, but addressed at least a few words to them. At those meetings of the Synodical Conference it was always very

interesting to listen to the outstanding dogmatician and leader of the Wisconsin Synod, Prof. Adolph Hoenecke, and to Pieper. Both had a high regard for each other, were, in fact, good friends, but also sometimes opposed each other, in terminology and in presentation, but always in a very courteous and brotherly way. When in 1893 I was called to the professorship in St. Louis, I was rather diffident about accepting that call, because I felt that I was still too young a man for such a position alongside of Pieper, Stoeckhardt, and August Graebner. But Professor Pieper as well as Professors Stoeckhardt and Graebner encouraged me, and I have never forgotten their kind words in the many years of my activity as instructor in the Seminary. They also assured me that they would advise and help me in my work; but I soon found out that they were too busy with their own work to be able to spend much time in assisting a young man. But without exception they were always ready to listen to me. Besides that, Professor Pieper suffered a nervous breakdown the following year and was not able to do all of his own work. Aside from receiving valuable bits of information and advice, I learned a great deal from him in the Faculty meetings of those days, and this continued as long as he lived, and I can say that I have read all his articles and especially his *Christliche Dogmatik* from beginning to end, and still have it close to my desk for frequent reference. I therefore felt that since I was called upon to deliver a funeral oration after his demise on June 3, 1931, I should also place a memorial wreath on his grave. This I have tried to do in six articles in the *Lutheraner*,²⁾ also recording a number of reminiscences, for which I have no space in these memoirs. And although I was later on elected

as his successor in the presidency of the institution, I have always thought, and still think, that I was not the man to step into the place of Walther and Pieper.

Dr. Pieper's family was a blessed one. He was married to Minna Koehn of Sheboygan, Wis., who was still living when this was written, but who passed away December 18, 1943. The children grew up almost, so to speak, under my eyes, and his sons and also his sons-in-law are well known in our Church. I remember very well how happy Dr. Pieper used to be when his children and grandchildren came home for a visit or when he was able to visit them in their homes.

PROFESSOR GEORGE STOECKHARDT

WITH regard to my professors at St. Louis I think I can say that while I owe much to each and everyone of the venerable men who taught me, Dr. Walther, Professors Guenther, Pieper, Lange, and Schaller, Professor Stoeckhardt had the greatest influence upon me and guided my studies into the field which later became my own field of teaching and more or less my life's work: exegetical theology and exegesis proper. However, before speaking of Stoeckhardt's activity in St. Louis, I wish to say something of his earlier life (this has indeed been described by his friend of many years Pastor Otto Willkomm, but the biography is not available in English) and of some incidents in his life that have never been recorded in print.¹⁾

He was born February 17, 1842, as a member of an old family of ministers in Saxony, although his father was not a clergyman, but a teacher of chemistry in an agricultural school in Tharandt, being also the author of a textbook on chemistry, which in his days was translated into other languages, also into English. Some years ago one of my students presented me with a Swedish translation published in Stockholm. Although Stoeckhardt sprang from a notable family, he was throughout his life a very modest man and

never showed any "Gelehrtenstolz," pride of scholars, a trait, if I am correctly informed, of his whole family. Since his father belonged to the well-to-do middle class, Stoeckhardt received a very fine education, first at the so-called "Fuerstenschule," or princes' college, St. Afra in Meissen, and later



The Faculty of Concordia Seminary 1887—1892

Sitting, from left to right: R. H. C. Lange, M. Guenther.

Standing: G. Stoeckhardt, F. Pieper, A. L. Graebner

at different universities. In those days he formed a number of important friendships, was a member of the Christian Students' Association "Wingolf," and became not only a friend of Otto Willkomm, who also was a Saxon, but also of two men who later entered the Leipzig Mission in India and still later came to America and joined our Synod: Carl Manthey-Zorn and Frederick Zucker. But he was also a

friend of Wilhelm Walther, the noted Luther scholar, later on professor of theology at Rostock, of Hashagen, also a well-known university professor at Rostock in the field of practical theology, and of Eugene Menegoz, later on professor of theology at the University of Paris. While Stoeckhardt became more and more conservative in the course of years, Menegoz became more liberal, and when Stoeckhardt presented him with a copy of his *Commentary on Romans*, Menegoz kindly acknowledged receipt of the volume and stated that Stoeckhardt undoubtedly understood St. Paul correctly in his doctrinal presentations, but remarked that he himself had turned from St. Paul, whose theology he was not able to accept, to Jesus Christ, who alone had "words of eternal life." I may mention in passing that probably Menegoz was instrumental in having Stoeckhardt come to Paris just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871, and that Stoeckhardt also visited him on one of his later trips to Europe.

The universities in which Stoeckhardt received his theological training were chiefly his home university, Leipzig, and the Bavarian university in Erlangen, which at that time had an outstanding theological faculty. In Leipzig his teachers were Kahnis, Franz Delitzsch, who later deplored very much the fact that Stoeckhardt left the State Church and joined the Free Church and even wrote him a letter when he was on the point of doing so, urging him not to take that step, and Luthardt, on whom I called in 1895. And when in conversation I mentioned Stoeckhardt's name, he told me that he had always thought very highly of him, had expected great things of him, and that he regretted very much his leaving the State Church, "ein Schritt, den

ich aufs tiefste bedauert habe." In Erlangen he was a student of Thomasius, of August Koehler, of von Zezschwitz, and especially of von Hofmann, who undoubtedly, as I know from many conversations, had exercised the greatest influence upon him, especially in exegesis. Hofmann had also been the adviser and reader of Stoeckhardt's thesis when he was to become *Licentiatus Theologiae*, the first step in an academic career, and Stoeckhardt himself told me in later years that Hofmann was not quite satisfied that he showed such a practical aim in his theological writing, a trait to which, as all members of our Church know, we owe so much. Still Hofmann thought very highly of him and hoped to have him become a member of the Erlangen theological faculty, as I heard from Dr. Geo. J. Fritschel of the former Iowa Synod, who had Bavarian connections. Hofmann undoubtedly was also not satisfied with Stoeckhardt's orthodox leanings. The theme of Stoeckhardt's thesis was "The Son of Man," but the paper seems to have been lost, as he himself told me when I asked him for it. He no longer had a copy of it. In his quaint humor he remarked, on another occasion when he inquired about a certain document which must have been in his hands, but which he was not able to locate: "Ach, es wandert so manches in den Papierkorb," so many things are thrown into the wastebasket. Later he showed that he was not only a thorough student of Hofmann's *Commentary on the New Testament*, but also had to some extent learned from him the exegetical method apparent in his own commentaries; but he carefully avoided the pitfalls of Hofmann, who, instead of reproducing the exact thoughts of the Biblical writer, sometimes inserted his own opinion. He also told me some interesting

anecdotes of Hofmann, and I remember very well the following. Hofmann did not believe in Christ's descent into hell and denied it in his dogmatics and commentary. But his students observed that in church he joined the congregation in reciting this section of the Apostles' Creed. Some of them asked him about the matter, and he is reported to have given this answer: "In the lecture hall I speak as a scientific theologian, but in church I speak as a member of the Christian Church. As a theologian I cannot accept the descent into hell, but in church I confess that old Christian creed." Being of independent means, Stoeckhardt also spent some time at the University of Berlin, where he especially learned to value Hengstenberg's lectures; and having always had a liking for history, he also took courses in that field under Leopold von Ranke. I think that also in this direction he was influenced to some extent by Hofmann. Stoeckhardt also went to the University of Marburg just to hear that independent and notable theologian Vilmar, who, like Stoeckhardt, in later years became dissatisfied with the State Church. He also paid a visit to Neuendettelsau in order to get acquainted with Loehe, and it was at that place that he first heard of America and of the development of the Lutheran Church in America.

After having finished his studies, he became a teacher at a girls' school, the "Luisenstift," in his home town of Tharandt, in very beautiful surroundings. And at some time in those days he considered entering the Leipzig Mission among the Tamils in India, being approached by the director of that mission, Hardeland. But finally he decided to enter the teaching career in some theological faculty, either Erlangen or Leipzig. I may add that once he was

considered for a teaching position at the seminary of the Prussian or Breslau Free Church. But a change in his plans took place. He was called, in 1869 or 1870, as an assistant pastor to Paris; however, he had hardly entered upon his activities there when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. Stoeckhardt himself has described those days in a fascinating booklet.²⁾ On two occasions he was arrested by the police because they considered him a German spy, and once even his life was endangered, but he insisted that he be taken to the commander in chief, General Trochu, and after due examination was considered to be a harmless German and set free. However, after Napoleon III had been deposed, he thought it best to leave Paris. He volunteered as a "Feldprediger," a camp pastor, and for three months he was with the German army, because they lacked camp and hospital preachers. His experiences in that position make most interesting reading. After his return to Germany he passed his examination as licentiate of theology, and an explanation of Is. 8:20 to 9:6 was required of him; and it is a peculiar coincidence that his last lecture at our Seminary in St. Louis covered just that important Messianic promise. Professor von Zezschwitz offered to propose him as Pastor Loehe's successor in Neuendettelsau, but Stoeckhardt, after having handed in his thesis and having received the licentiate title, entered the ministry in Saxony.

At that time Theodor Ruhland, minister of our church in Collinsville, Ill., had become pastor of a little group in Planitz, Saxony, which had left the State Church, and the church government sent Stoeckhardt as an energetic and able young man to Planitz as deacon in order to counteract Ruhland's influence. But before long Stoeckhardt, who also

had noticed the distressing conditions in the Saxon State Church, especially with regard to discipline in matters of doctrine and life, contacted Ruhland and instead of an opponent, became an adherent of Missouri. He was suspended from office, left the State Church, and became nominally Ruhland's assistant; but since his time was not sufficiently occupied, he founded a "Lateinschule," or boys' high school, in Planitz, preparing boys for our college in Fort Wayne, and began to edit the church paper of the Free Church, the *Evangelisch-Lutherische Freikirche*. Since he did not mince his words in censuring the State Church, calling it a "Babel," he had trouble with the government, also in very insignificant matters. He himself told me that at one time the young men's society in Planitz had a celebration and on that occasion had a little banquet where beer was served. Stoeckhardt, being the leader of that society, was called before court, and his crime was termed "unbefugter Ausschank" (illegitimate dispensing of liquor). Some action took place, and they tried to fix the penalty by determining how much beer each one of the group had received, and finally a judgment was rendered that he should be imprisoned for eight months. The whole matter, of course, was simply ludicrous, but showed the antagonism of the State and the State Church. However, in the meantime he had received a call to America as the successor of Pastor Theodore Brohm at Holy Cross Church in St. Louis. For that reason Walther, in his installation sermon, remarked in passing that he had barely escaped imprisonment for Christ's sake.³⁾

That was in 1878, and in 1879 he also began to teach in our Seminary as *professor extraordinarius*, and the Faculty and the Board were only too glad to have him take over two

courses in the Senior class, one in Old Testament and another in New Testament exegesis. In 1887 he was made full professor and held that position until he was called to his eternal rest on the 9th of January, 1913, in all, almost 35 years. On his last birthday, in 1912, when he attained the age of 70, he read the 90th Psalm at the family devotion and remarked that he had now attained the Biblical age. I may state in passing that I happened to be the last one to speak to him on the morning of his demise, advising him to stay at home because it was very slippery outside, and a short while after that he was stricken and died.

I saw Stoeckhardt for the first time at the convention of our Synod at Fort Wayne in 1881 and at the pastors' conference following that meeting, and in 1882, when I entered St. Louis, he became my pastor and in the last year of my studies my teacher, and later on, for almost twenty years, I was his much younger colleague, but was fortunate enough to get quite close to him in those years, especially since he was always very "kollegial." Aside from the regular faculty meetings and contacts, I had many a private talk with him. I learned to know him not only as a very learned, scholarly man in Hebrew and Greek exegesis, but soon found out that he was well-informed also in other branches of knowledge and of the fine arts, which may surprise those who did not know him as intimately as I did. He was especially well read in history, but also was well acquainted with the so-called "schoene Literatur," belles-lettres, especially in German. He appreciated paintings and also music, and since his father was a chemist, he also knew more about chemistry than perhaps anyone of his colleagues excepting Dr. A. L. Graebner, who had taught chemistry for a while.

I remember very well that at one time Dr. Pieper spoke about a certain chemical formula and jokingly assumed that Stoeckhardt did not know much about it, but Stoeckhardt countered by saying, "Das habe ich, wer weiss wie oft, gemacht."

Regarding his exegetical work, everyone in our Church knows of his commentaries on Romans, Ephesians, First Peter, Isaiah 1-12, Selected Psalms, and especially also his Biblical History of the Old and New Testaments. While the two last-named works were written in a popular vein, everyone who reads them will soon find that they are based on thorough exegetical study. But Stoeckhardt knew how to present solid and learned matters in such a way that they could be understood by the simple Christian. And whatever he published, either in *Lehre und Wehre* or in the *Lutheraner*, or in book form, he did not write in order to shine and be admired, because at heart he was a very modest man and did not display his learning. His commentaries have no elaborate footnotes, are not abstruse, but are written in an easy, flowing style. In his commentaries the two methods of exegesis, the glossarial and the reproducing method, are admirably combined. I still hope that his Bible history, especially of the Old Testament, will be translated or reproduced in English.

He continued his studies throughout his life and was always anxious to become more adept. Just like Dr. Pieper, he was never satisfied to rest on his laurels, but continued to study and do research work and thereby entered ever deeper and more thoroughly into the divine wisdom revealed in Scripture. I remember that in a conversation with this esteemed colleague and friend he once casually re-

marked, "Man hat doch mit den Jahren etwas gelernt," one has learned something in the course of years; and if one examines his writings, one will well understand this remark. In his earlier years, when he was still a member of the State Church, he published an exposition of Luther's Catechism, which contained some synergistic sentences. But when he became better informed, he had the whole edition destroyed and, as far as I know, did not even keep a copy for himself, so that I had considerable trouble in trying to obtain a second-hand copy from Germany. And it is well known that in later years he was especially careful and emphatic in refuting all synergism in the doctrine of conversion and predestination, as his articles in *Lehre und Wehre* evidence. The same holds true with regard to the Lutheran doctrine of Sunday. Concerning the difficult passage Job 19:25-27, he corrected in a later publication what he had stated in class. He was indeed indefatigable in his Biblical studies. I recall that at one time when he was still pastor of Holy Cross Church and I a student, I saw him sitting on the porch of his home. It was a very hot day, and I thought he was resting and that this was an opportune time to get information on some point; but when I sat down next to him I saw that as a recreation he had in his hands the Hebrew Old Testament in his favorite polyglot edition and was carefully reading the Bible in the original. And just this one thing, his Biblical studies, made him such a great and sound theologian, always maintaining the absolute authority and inviolability of Holy Scripture. His articles on the "Scriptural Proof for the Doctrine of Predestination" are to the present day models of such exegesis.⁴⁾ But when he was called upon to speak at a conference or at a synod-

ical convention, he did not read a written essay. After carefully preparing for it, he spoke in a free and easy manner, putting his remarks in writing later on, if requested to do so. And in this way he continued up to his very last days. One of his later students in the years 1910 to 1914 once told me that when Stoeckhardt interpreted in class the wonderful text 1 Pet. 1:3-9, it was in such a beautiful and eloquent way that they felt as if he had caught a glimpse of heaven. And all his discussions and essays and papers were of an eminently practical nature, easily understood and easily taken to heart. Because he himself did such thorough and conscientious work, he was not satisfied when others took things too easy, and on one occasion when he had to report on a certain article that was sent to *Lehre und Wehre* for publication, he remarked somewhat indignantly that a Lutheran theologian when writing such a paper should certainly first of all find out what Luther had to say in the matter.

When he first came to America, naturally a complete change in his life and work was necessary, but he adapted himself very well to American conditions and in the years from 1879 to 1887 became more and more a truly great and powerful preacher, from the viewpoint of contents as well as of delivery. There were no oratorical flights. He disdained to appeal to his listeners by such means. There were no mere phrases, no "roaring," as Shakespeare would say, but always the power of conviction, the *parrhesia*, or boldness, of which Scripture speaks, and the appeal to heart and conscience. Many of his sermons have been printed, and I have also seen quite a number of his sermons in manuscript. There were no corrections in the manuscript. From

the fullness of his heart and mind his thoughts were transmitted to paper in an easy flow. At first he preached rather lengthy sermons, but when Dr. Pieper, his neighbor and friend and regular visitor in his church, told him, "Stoeckhardt, du predigst zu lang," he at once took it to heart and limited himself to so and so many pages of manuscript, because it was his invariable custom to write out his sermons. Very soon he introduced in his congregation so-called "Bibelstunden," Bible hours, and it was my privilege to listen to those when I was a student from 1882 to 1885. Attired in common dress, not in a gown, he spoke from the lectern, not from the pulpit; a hymn was sung, then followed the reading of a chapter, hereupon an excellent exposition, closing with an *ex corde* prayer, followed by another hymn and the benediction. And I remember well the deep impression he made on us students by expounding Genesis, not omitting even chapters and passages like Genesis 19 and 38, explaining them in such a masterful way that no one was offended by them, but adored God for His holiness and mercy. Of his sermons his excellent and unique Advent sermons and Lenten sermons have been printed, also a number of sermons in which Stoeckhardt on the basis of selected texts treated all the doctrines of the Christian religion in the compass of one year, a volume of sermons on the Gospels under the title *Gnade um Gnade* and quite a number in the *Magazin fuer evangelisch-lutherische Homiletik*; and many of our older pastors and also quite a number of younger men will agree with me that especially his sermon studies as published in the *Magazin* and later collected in a book were of great help to them.⁵⁾ Although a busy city pastor and doing much pastoral work in his

own congregation, he devoted one afternoon in the week to visiting the sick in the city hospital. He also asked some of the students to undertake such work and then report to him. That was in a certain respect the beginning of city mission work in St. Louis. And still he found time for social activities and travels, wrote many letters, beautiful and valuable as to their contents. His handwriting was so characteristic and unique that his own adopted son, while at college, was not able to decipher his letters and asked one of his teachers to assist him.

Thus Stoeckhardt stands before my eyes as a scholarly, modest, lovable man. Although it is true that he was a decided, strong character, sometimes perhaps somewhat extreme and going to the limit, he always listened to his opponent, was never "rechthaberisch," nor insisted that he was right, but was always courteous. I remember that at one time he had a rather heated discussion with one of his friends on some doctrinal matter and practical procedure, and when his friend expressed his regrets for it, Stoeckhardt waved his apology aside. He was never personally offended or grieved.

Much has been reported among the older members of our Church and especially among his students with regard to his absent-mindedness, some stories being true and quite a number being apocryphal. In fact, many stories about "zerstreute Professoren," absent-minded professors, in the old country, like those concerning Neander and others, were transferred to him. I would be able to recount a number of them, some true, some made up. There was some reason for such absent-mindedness; but one knowing Stoeckhardt well also knew the explanation. He knew the abilities and

work of his students very well, but he was apt to forget the names and the faces. He was of a very active and ready mind, and if in a conference something was discussed which pertained to externals and did not interest him very much, he would think of other things; and when suddenly he heard something that interested him, he did not know the exact connection and perhaps raised a question indicating absent-mindedness. I could easily show, however, that in all important matters he was a very careful listener and observer of men and things. But I always admired especially his childlike piety. And if I were to characterize Stoeckhardt with a Bible passage, I would use John 1:47, "Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile," and apply to him the words in Is. 66:2: "To this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit and trembleth at My Word."

PROFESSOR MARTIN GUENTHER

AMONG the members of the St. Louis faculty in my Seminary days the three men Martin Guenther, Rudolph Lange, and Gottlieb Schaller must not be forgotten. While they did not make such a deep impression upon the students as Pieper and Stoeckhardt and were not such outstanding teachers as these two men, still I soon learned to hold them in high esteem as learned men and devout Christians, to whose teaching and fine Christian example I owe much, which I have not forgotten to the present day.

Martin Guenther was born in Dresden, December 4, 1831, and emigrated with the Saxon fathers as a boy. Later he entered our log-cabin college in Perry County, came to St. Louis when the institution was transferred to St. Louis in 1849—1850, and was graduated in 1853 in a small class. The six members of that class, O. Eissfeldt, Th. Gruber, M. Guenther, C. Metz, M. Stephan, and G. Volk, were the first graduates after the re-location of the institution.

Guenther was called as minister to Grafton, Wis., and in the following years founded congregations in Cedarburg and Mequon, to which latter place he moved in 1857. All these places being not far away from my father's charge in Freistadt and Kirchhayn, young Guenther naturally soon became well acquainted with my father and in 1854 married Theresa Harzdorf, the foster-daughter of my parents, and

thereby really became a member of our family. My parents thought very highly of him, and Guenther regarded my father as an outstanding theologian and fatherly friend. I remember that when he published the first edition of his *Populaere Symbolik* he stated, I think it was in a private letter, that my father really influenced him and stimulated him to those and similar studies, that he owed very much to him, a debt which he never would be able to repay. In the presentation copy of this work for my father he simply says in his laconic way, "Von deinem M. G." When my father was called to Frankenmuth, Mich., in 1858, Guenther was still in Wisconsin, but in 1860, when the important congregation at Saginaw, Mich., was without a pastor, he was called to that place. So these two men again were close to each other for twelve years, until in 1872 Guenther accepted the call to St. Matthew's Church in Chicago. Of these years I cannot say very much, because I was a mere boy, but I remember that it was always a festive occasion for me when my mother took me along to Saginaw to Guenther's house. In these Saginaw years Guenther wrote his *Populaere Symbolik*, a really outstanding work in those days. Later, when he was professor at St. Louis, he issued a second, much enlarged edition, and after his death it became my privilege to issue the third and fourth editions of that work, which helped our older pastors and also our lay people to know of and understand the different churches and denominations. In Chicago he remained only one year, for in 1873 he was called as professor to St. Louis, undoubtedly upon recommendation of Professor Walther, who must have remembered Guenther from his student days and recognized his theological abilities, which he showed in the

ministry and in articles contributed to the *Lutheraner*. And Guenther remained in that position just twenty years, until his sudden death in 1893.

Very soon he became the managing editor of the *Lutheraner*, which up to that time was chiefly edited by Walther, its founder; and most probably also for this position he was in the minds of the men who were instrumental in electing and calling him to St. Louis. Guenther guided that paper safely and sanely, also through the turbulent years of the Predestination Controversy. He was also the first editor of the *Magazin fuer evangelisch-lutherische Homiletik* in 1877, and he took care of this editorial work up to the time of his death. The foreword in the first issue of this magazine is a very fine exhortation for all ministers of the Gospel to devote intensive work to the preparation of their sermons, because they are called upon to proclaim the Word of God. His contributions for this magazine are signed with "G."; his chief editorial work, however, was still centered in the *Lutheraner*, which contained many excellent articles from his pen. Very often I had occasion to turn to the files of the *Lutheraner* in the years in which I had charge of the management of this paper. He wrote articles on the doctrines of our Church, also on historical and practical matters, and particularly took care of what is still called "Chronik," telling of incidents and happenings in the life of the Church, in our country and in other countries. No one paging through these twenty volumes of the *Lutheraner* will fail to note the importance of these contributions. He had the gift of clear and correct presentation of every matter on which he chose to write, without making much ado and using much rhetoric and flowery language. Some of the

biographies of theologians and churchmen which he wrote for the *Lutheraner* were reprinted and published in Germany in the four volumes of *Ehrendenkmal treuer Zeugen Christi*. Occasionally he also contributed to *Lehre und Wehre*. From my own observation and from men who naturally were familiar with the events and happenings in those years I know that Walther quite often consulted him in difficult and important matters aside from the regular Faculty and editorial meetings.

As instructor in the Seminary he taught Propaedeutics, which in those days was called "Enzyklopaedie und Methodologie," Isagogics, or Introduction to the Old and the New Testament, and Symbolics, which at that time was confined chiefly to the reading and explanation of the symbolical books. He also conducted sermon delivery in the middle class and, after Walther's death, took over Catechetics and, after Schaller's death, Homiletics.

Guenther was a rather quiet man, did not say very much at conferences, synodical meetings, in social gatherings, and might well have been called, like that famous general Helmuth von Moltke, "der grosse Schweiger." As a result, many of his students and also others never got to know him very well. In his lectures he gave considerable dictation, but elucidated what he had dictated in brief but very pertinent remarks. Such remarks, again, were not made in a very impressive, rhetorical, forceful way, and for that reason some of the students did not appreciate his lectures as highly as they should have done. But I still have his notes and explanations of the Confessions of our Church, and while I did not perhaps fully realize their importance and excellency in my younger days, I read them to the present

day whenever I consult a passage in our symbolical writings. And some of the students who failed to take notes, as is often the case, borrowed my copy of Mueller's edition of the Confessions in their Senior year and copied these notes, then realizing their value.

Guenther had an excellent knowledge of the true Biblical doctrine, and his diligent studies in the field of Symbolics enabled him to present and defend the Lutheran doctrine by word of mouth and especially by his pen. He was particularly an indefatigable reader of Luther's works, and it was a favorite expression of his: "So gewaltig wie Luther redet doch keiner." (No one speaks in such a powerful way as Luther.) That he edited a *Vergissmeinnicht aus Luthers Schriften* anonymously was practically known to no one. I learned of it but recently by conferring with Pastor J. F. Boerger, who after Guenther's death acquired his edition of Luther's Works. His many articles in the *Lutheraner* were masterpieces, brief, to the point, clear, convincing. He also had charge of the Seminary library and drafted me to be one of the student assistants. He had done wide reading, and whenever occasion offered, he spoke about books and their contents in a very instructive manner. He was also much interested in national politics, and when I entered his study in 1893, I saw a large picture of Grover Cleveland on the wall.

After Walther's death in 1887 Guenther wrote a lengthy biography of him for the *Lutheraner*. Published in book form in 1890, this biography must be considered one of the chief sources for a study of Walther's life.¹⁾ In writing it he took great care to have everything correct, not only searching for data in letters and manuscripts, but also secur-

ing material from contemporaries of Walther. I remember that he repeatedly requested information from my mother, who had a very good memory for details of happenings in bygone days.

For many years Guenther preached every Sunday at Kirkwood, a suburb of St. Louis, and when the congregation finally was able to call its own pastor, he became the assistant of Pastor C. L. Janzow of Bethlehem Church in St. Louis; and there he delivered his last sermon on Pentecost Monday, May 22, 1893. Feeling weak and sick, he went home after the service, took to his bed, and very soon suffered a stroke, which ended his rich and blessed life. No lengthy biography of him ever appeared. The *Lutherische Kalender* for 1894 contained a brief appreciation written by Dr. Pieper.

On account of our relationship — we always considered Mrs. Guenther a member of our family — I was in his home very often. In fact, in my first year at St. Louis, when the new Seminary was being built in 1882 to 1883, I lived in his house and sat at his table, and throughout the three years I had my dinner with the Guenther family. Also at the table he was rather quiet. The members of his family and George Bernthal, who lived with me at Guenther's house in that year, only heard brief remarks from his lips, and quite often he simply beckoned for a certain dish on the table. But everyone knew his good and kind heart, his sincere interest in the affairs and welfare of the Church. On Saturday mornings he regularly went downtown as a sort of recreation, I think, because he spent most of his time in his study and kept late, oftentimes very late, hours, so that even the streetcar conductors sometimes asked us

students who was burning the midnight oil. When in the city, he regularly called on two friends, both of them book-sellers, Louis Volkening, the publisher of his *Populaere Symbolik*, and Frederick Dette, the publisher of the *Weimarer-Bibel* and the *Seelenhirte* of Nicolaus Haas; and although I never was present at such visits, I am quite sure that Guenther frequently advised these publishers with regard to publications and undoubtedly sometimes also lent his helping hand. He was indeed a *pia anima*, and I know that his students regarded him highly in later years. It should also not be forgotten that when the dedication of the new Seminary took place in 1883, he wrote for the *Lutheraner* a history of the institution up to that year, and he clipped these articles and pasted them in a book; and I still have his own copy, with valuable additions in his handwriting. It is the best and most accurate history of the institution up to the present time.

I saw him for the last time at the synodical convention of 1893, when I was privileged to be his house guest. A few weeks later he passed to his reward. Some of his rare books on symbolics came into my possession when his valuable library was sold after his demise. *Anima pia et candida, have*. Farewell, thou pious and candid soul.

Four of Guenther's daughters were in the course of time married to men in our Church, the oldest, Agnes, to Teacher H. Grote of Chicago and St. Louis, the second, Concordia, to Pastor N. J. Bakke, one of the pioneers in our Negro Mission, who devoted all his life to this work, another one, Lydia, to Pastor H. Wein of Kansas and Missouri, and the youngest, Mathilda, to Prof. H. Juergensen, for a number of years instructor at our College in St. Paul, Minn.

PROFESSORS RUDOLPH LANGE AND
GOTTLIEB SCHALLER

AMONG MY TEACHERS in my Seminary days from 1882 to 1885 was also *Rudolph Lange*, and since no biography of him has been written or published aside from the brief article written by his colleague Professor Pieper in the *Lutherische Kalender* for 1894, I venture a few more details of his life in order to keep his memory green.

C. H. Rudolph Lange was born January 8, 1825, in Prussia, but I do not know more of his youth, his education, and his coming to America, than the fact that in 1846 he was sent to our country by Pastor Loehe, studied nine months at the practical seminary in Fort Wayne, the well-known Loehe foundation, and then from August, 1847, for nine months in our institution in Altenburg, Mo. All of his children whom I might have consulted for more information are dead, some of them having passed away many years ago. Three of his daughters were married to ministers of our Church, Theresa to Pastor Ludwig von Schenk, Anna to Pastor Walter von Schenk, and Betty to Pastor August Lange, the editor of the *Abendschule*. Professor Lange's wife was a daughter of Pastor Gruber, one of the Saxon

immigrant pastors, and I presume that Lange had met her in Perry County when he was a student there. He was graduated in 1848 as the second of our own candidates from that institution, J. F. Biltz being the third. After his graduation he became pastor of our church in St. Charles, Mo., until he was called as professor to our college in Fort Wayne, where he served from 1858 to 1872 as English professor. I have no information as to where he learned his English, but he had a good command of this language, and in his Fort Wayne days he published a *Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache*, which, still used in my college days from 1877 to 1882, taught English through the medium of the German language — also an interesting sidelight on the conditions existing in this respect in the early decades.

From Fort Wayne he was called to become pastor of Immanuel Congregation in Chicago, the second oldest of our churches in that city, and in 1878 was elected English professor at our St. Louis Seminary. There he taught all his courses through the medium of the English language: History of Philosophy, Logic on the basis of Jevons, an exegetical course on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and conducted debates in English on theological topics. He was afflicted with hay fever, which affected him considerably in the first months of the school year and undoubtedly weakened him physically.

He was a clear and deep thinker, and those students who wanted to learn something from him were richly rewarded. But he was not what one would call a forceful lecturer. I had occasion to examine his exegesis on Matthew in his own manuscript in later years, and I was surprised at the thorough, deep, and altogether original theological expo-

sition. Of this also some articles in our *Lehre und Wehre* are a testimonial. I recall especially a lengthy article on "Modern Materialism," which examines the theories of Buechner and Vogt (the "Affenvogt," as he was called sarcastically, because he accepted the Darwinian theory that man was descended from apelike ancestors), and I still remember the final section of that article, where he describes in a unique and almost sarcastic way how everything in the life and relationship of mankind would be changed if the theories of Buechner's "Kraft- und Stoffwechsel" were true and generally accepted.¹⁾ The other article to which I would like to refer was written in the days of the controversy on predestination and was an extremely valuable contribution.²⁾

But Lange, just like Guenther, was a quiet man. I never heard him speak in public except in one or two sermons which he delivered on special occasions. He continued as teacher until his death, October 2, 1892, and in the following year his branches, especially philosophy and logic, were taken over by Prof. Frederick Bente, who always had an inclination for philosophical studies and was one of the sharpest and clearest minds with which our Church has been blessed. But I still have a very distinct recollection of that independent and thoroughgoing theologian Rudolph Lange, in whose home I had been a number of times in my student days and whose wife and daughters I knew very well, since they were intimate friends and neighbors of my relatives, Mrs. Guenther and her daughters. And it must not be forgotten that in those controversial years Lange also edited our first theological review in the English language, the publication of such a review being deemed desirable

and necessary to present our position in the language of our country, because some of the opponents assailed our doctrinal standpoint in English. The magazine bore the title *The St. Louis Theological Monthly* and appeared for two years, in 1881 and 1882, but was discontinued when the controversy was ended as far as our Synod and the Synodical Conference were concerned. Lange, however, said in the closing remarks: "There are other considerations which make it desirable for us to have an English periodical of our own besides the *Witness*. There are talents among us that ought not to be buried in the earth; there are pounds that must not be wrapped up in the napkin; there is theological knowledge vouchsafed to us to increase and multiply in the service of that Church whose surpassing spiritual riches lay a proportionate obligation on its members. The circumstances in which we are placed render the continuance of the *Monthly* in its present form inadequate to the attainment of the desired end. The expediency of new arrangements has become evident. The present number, therefore, brings our periodical to a close. We part from our readers in the hope that, God willing, we shall soon be able to offer a substitute better adapted to the purpose in view."³⁾ But fifteen years passed before this wish came true in the publication of the *Theological Quarterly*, in 1897.

Finally I must mention as one of my teachers at the Seminary *Professor Gottlieb Schaller*. Although a very interesting and valuable biography of him was written for the *Lutheraner* by his son-in-law Professor A. L. Graebner,⁴⁾ I think it not amiss that something of his life should be recorded here. While Pieper, Guenther, and Lange received their education, at least in part, in our country,

Schaller, born February 12, 1819, in Kirchenlamitz, Bavaria, was educated in Germany, first in the *Gymnasium* in Erlangen, where Roth and Naegelsbach, two excellent schoolmen, were his teachers, and then in the university, also located in Erlangen, under such well-known men as Harless, Hoefling, Schmid, Schoeberlein, Thiersch, and Karl von Raumer. He soon became a follower of Loehe, who took a special liking to him and was instrumental in sending



**Prof. G. Schaller in the Eighties
of the Last Century**

him to America in 1848, after he had served some time as vicar and assistant to the well-known *Dekan* Brandt in Windsbach. Schaller was the son-in-law of a close friend and colaborer of Loehe, the prominent merchant Volck in Nuremberg. He first had charge of a congregation in Philadelphia, later of one in Detroit, Mich., and was then called to Old Trinity in St. Louis.

Being an adherent of Loehe, he was, of course, very much concerned when the differences between our Church and Loehe arose in the early fifties of the last century about the doctrine of the Church and the ministry, broached in 1849 in Loehe's *Aphorismen*. But while never forgetting what he owed to Loehe, he was convinced of the correctness of our position, especially by the presentation of Walther at one of the conventions of our Church and by Walther's notable book *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Lehre von Kirche und Amt*, and sided with our Synod. On one occasion he said with regard to these

matters — so my mother, who had a good memory for such incidents, told me — “Jetzt faellt es mir wie Schuppen von den Augen.” “Now my eyes are opened.” Schaller had a special gift for poetry, and a number of his poems were published, first in periodicals and pamphlets and, after his death, in a book edited by his son Adelbert.⁵⁾ He also composed poems for special occasions, and I recall his little pamphlet in connection with the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1855. One of his outstanding poems formed the text for a very fine cantata by Neukomm, *Ostermorgen*, supplanting a rationalistic text and called by Schaller *The Journey to Zion* according to the first line, “Weisst du, wo mein Zion lieget?” “Knowest thou where my Zion lieth?” This cantata was sung repeatedly by our combined Lutheran choirs in St. Louis, and I remember particularly one rendition during my student days at the synodical convention of 1884, under the direction of Teacher H. F. Hoelter, when I played in the little orchestra which accompanied the singing. Schaller’s poetical gift was also discernible in his sermons, which were uniformly written and delivered in beautiful language. Some of these sermons were published in our periodicals, and others I heard during my student days. Even in his early days he composed poems, which were then set to music by the friend of his college days Johannes Zahn, the author of an outstanding work on hymn tunes: *Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*. Schaller also loved music. While I cannot speak of this from my own observation, I heard it stated in my student days from an outstanding St. Louis musician, Theodore Spiering, although I do not know what connection he had with Schaller. I have

been told that Schaller's son Adelbert took violin lessons from Spiering. Spiering was my teacher on the violin and repeatedly invited me to his home, where, on one occasion — I hope my readers will not faint — I also accompanied his young son Theodore Bernays Spiering on the piano when he played the Andante of Mendelssohn's violin concerto. This son later became a musician of international reputation, and I saw and heard him in later life. He was an intimate friend of the well-known Finnish composer Jan Sibelius. Schaller, on account of his gifts, was called as professor in our Seminary in 1872, and he held this position until he was stricken in 1886; he passed to his eternal reward November 19, 1887. A short time before his death I had the privilege of calling on him on one of my visits to St. Louis and found him, although somewhat incapacitated by the stroke, still interested in church matters and, as always, lovable in his attitude towards his students. Of a number of incidents which I might mention I recall a brief, but very pleasant visit in his home when the newcomers had to present themselves to their instructors. The two sons of President Koren of the Norwegian Synod were with me, and when they stated their name, Schaller, recalling that an older brother had been his student, exclaimed, "Ei" (a favorite introductory word with him), "eine gesegnete Familie," "Oh, a blessed family, sending three sons for the ministry." I have often thought of this when in the course of my many years at the Seminary I found that two, three, four, and in one instance even seven sons of one family became my students or when I was able to welcome sons of former students. The latter number is well above the hun-

dred mark, and in the year in which I pen these lines there is enrolled even a grandson of one of my students.

The courses which Schaller taught in my student days were the reading and interpretation of Genesis, a course in Homiletics for beginners, and chiefly, throughout the three years, Church History. While I cannot say that, as far as I was able to notice in those days, he undertook deep and thorough research work, he had read church history extensively and presented it to us students accordingly. While I must say again that he did not make as deep an impression upon his students as other men did, we all felt that a well-informed theologian and a sincere and devout Christian spoke to us, stressing in his presentation especially the first centuries of the Christian Church and the Reformation period. Listening to his lectures in the latter field, I obtained a good knowledge of the events in the Reformation century up to the time of the Formula of Concord and especially an understanding of Luther's character and work.

As stated above, Schaller was married to a daughter of the merchant Volck. His brother-in-law, Pastor George Volck, was one of the early victims of the yellow fever epidemics in New Orleans, where he was in charge of one of our congregations. Schaller's oldest son, John, entered the ministry, serving in Arkansas and Missouri, and later was called as professor to the Martin Luther College and Seminary of the Wisconsin Synod in New Ulm, Minn., and from there transferred as theological professor to the Seminary at Wauwatosa, Wis., where he died February 7, 1920, in the prime of life. He was the successor of Dr. Adolph Hoenecke and especially active in the fields of Dogmatics and Pastoral Theology. The youngest son of Professor Schal-

ler, William, after serving in the ministry in Baltimore and Quincy, Ill., was called as professor of the German language and literature to our St. Paul's College in Concordia, Mo., where he has been active for many years and privileged to observe his fiftieth anniversary in the service of the Church in 1939. The gift of poetry which William Schaller possesses was inherited from his father, also his fine command of the German language, which he intensified in thorough linguistic studies, so that he became a contributor to Grimm's monumental German Dictionary. Several of Schaller's daughters were married to well-known men in our Church, the oldest, Lucie, to Prof. Theodore Brohm of our Addison Normal College, the second one, Anna, to Prof. A. L. Graebner, who first taught at the high school, or Walther College, in St. Louis, then at the Northwestern College of the Wisconsin Synod in Watertown, Wis., afterwards as theological professor at the Wisconsin Seminary in Milwaukee, and from 1887 to 1904 as theological professor here at St. Louis. The youngest daughter of Professor Schaller, Hedwig, married Pastor William Heyne, who served more than fifty years in the ministry, first in Missouri, then in New Orleans, and for a number of years in Decatur, Ill., also holding the office of President of the Central Illinois District. Another son of Professor Schaller, Adelbert, who collected his father's poems, was manager of the Northwestern Publishing House of the Wisconsin Synod in Milwaukee.

STUDENT FRIENDS AND STUDENT LIFE

WHEN speaking of my Seminary days in St. Louis, I also wish to record something of our student life. Those were the years in which outwardly a great change took place with regard to the housing of the Seminary. Our Synod in Fort Wayne in 1881 had resolved to put up a new Seminary building because the building of 1849 with its later additions was getting old, lacked modern improvements, for instance, central heating, and especially was no longer able to house the increasing number of students. During the year 1881 the plans were drawn. In 1882 the school closed somewhat earlier. The students were dismissed, and the old building was wrecked. My first year in St. Louis, 1882–1883, was really an *interregnum*. The classrooms were located in the old printing establishment of Concordia Publishing House on the Seminary grounds quite close to Dr. Walther's residence and in the large double parlor of Professor Lange's residence, originally the old Heinicke house, which was occupied after Professor Lange's death by Professors A. L. Graebner, Dau, and Pardieck until it was also wrecked. A number of students found lodging with families; George Bernthal and I roomed in Professor

Guenther's, others in Professor Schaller's home and with other families of Holy Cross. The majority of the students were housed in the old Lange (not the *Abendschule Lange*) residence, which later became the nucleus of the Lutheran Hospital, and after a thorough renovation and rebuilding is



The Old Seminary Building at St. Louis

Begun in 1849/50 and wrecked in 1882. On the right hand is
Holy Cross Church

used to the present day. The library was also housed in the old printery. Naturally these conditions were not ideal, but we got along quite well and looked forward to the time when, after a year, the new Seminary building would be completed, dedicated, and occupied. That fine building is still remembered by the older generation.

The dedication in September, 1883, was a very joyful affair. Special excursions were run from Chicago, Mil-

waukee, Fort Wayne, Pittsburgh, and other places. A great multitude assembled, some fifteen to twenty thousand. The festivities lasted two full days. On the forenoon of Sunday, September 9, Dr. Walther gave the festival address. In the afternoon Prof. August Crull of Fort Wayne spoke in



The Seminary 1883—1926

English, and Pastor C. Gross, Vice-President of Synod, in German. The second day, September 10, was given over to academic festivities in the chapel of the new building. Professors Pieper and Stoeckhardt spoke in Latin. The hymns sung were also in Latin. As representatives of the student body Otto Hattstaedt, a member of the Senior Class, spoke in German, and Adolph Meyer, a member of the Middle Class, in English. In the evening of the second day a sacred concert was given in the Mercantile Library Hall featuring

Joseph Haydn's *Te Deum*. Pastor C. A. Graeber, an alumnus of the institution, always much interested in coins and medals of historic value, had seen to it that a memorial medal had been coined, which is undoubtedly still treasured in some homes as a reminder of that occasion. This is the same Pastor Graeber who presented Dr. Walther with the famous so-called Huguenot medal of Pope Gregory XIII, coined to commemorate the St. Bartholomew's massacre. Walther had mentioned the incident in the *Lutheraner*, also the fact that a *Te Deum laudamus* was chanted in Rome and the medal coined to commemorate the event; and when a Catholic paper (I think in Cincinnati) denied the truth of it, Graeber became active, obtained this medal at his own expense in London, and presented it to Dr. Walther, who, not wanting to keep such an interesting, rare, and valuable object, gave it to the Seminary library. It is still in our collection together with the original bill of sale and other authentic documents which Pastor Graeber turned over to me when I had charge of the library. For many years Graeber also had collected coins and medals pertaining to the Lutheran Church, its jubilees and festivities, and kind old Pastor Otto Hanser and his wife bought this collection and presented it to the Seminary, indeed a unique collection, the only one of its kind in our country. I do not know whether a similar collection is to be found in Europe. Dr. Walther's address at the dedication, a full description of the festivities, and Professor Guenther's brief but excellent history of the institution are printed in the *Lutheraner*.¹⁾

Aside from the old friends in my Fort Wayne college days I formed new friendships at the Seminary. The reason for this was the fact that some of my classmates had re-

ceived their college education at the Northwestern College in Watertown, Wis., and others were graduates of the Norwegian Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. Of the former I remember especially Frederick Graebner, a younger brother of Dr. A. L. Graebner, who, after serving congregations in Missouri, Kansas, and Michigan, went to Australia and became an outstanding and valued member of our sister synod as professor and president of their institution in Unley near Adelaide. Already in his student days he was a good theologian; and our friendship has continued to the present day. Then there was Christian Doehler, who was much interested in music and whom I also met repeatedly in later life, although he was always a member of our sister Synod of Wisconsin. His father was such a good violinist that he was asked to play at one of the concerts given during the 1884 convention in St. Louis.

Of the Norwegian students three classmates became my close friends: J. W. Preus, the son of H. A. Preus, one of the founders and for many years president of the Norwegian Synod, and Paul and William Koren, the sons of the president of later days. Paul Koren became his father's assistant and successor and resigned from the ministry about a year ago. William was interested in languages, and on account of a minor physical defect — he was somewhat lame — did not enter the ministry, but chose the teaching profession and attained some prominence. He was professor of Romance languages for a number of years at Princeton University, teaching especially French and Italian. During the time of the St. Louis World's Fair he paid me a long visit. He was a very lovable character, and we exchanged letters off and on up to the time of his death several years ago.

Another Norwegian classmate, Jens Hansen, discontinued his theological studies and prepared for library work and was so efficient in this respect that he became the head of the cataloguing department in the large University of Chicago library and was even called to Rome to make some adjustments in the Vatican Library. I also remember very well several other Norwegian students in the two classes above mine: Olaf Brand, whose father was a well-known older Norwegian minister and who after serving several congregations became professor of theology at the Norwegian Seminary in Hamline, near St. Paul, and later in Luther Seminary in St. Paul, and Knut Seehus, for many years a pastor in the old Norwegian Church.

We were a very happy student body, not large, comprising not more than 94 in my first year, 104 in the second, and 96 in the third. We were all housed in the same building and knew each other very well, discussing theological and other matters and taking, generally speaking, great interest in what was presented by our teachers. If I were to characterize our instruction in a few words, I would say: *Multum, non multa*. We did not have so many courses of study as nowadays, but what we had we learned in a thorough way, while at the present-time the tendency is almost the reverse: *Multa, non multum*, many things, but naturally, not so extensive and thorough. While the requirements for class were not very great, and term papers, tests, and the like, were practically unknown, we did a lot of private reading of books which were brought to our attention and which made a lasting impression. Thus I recall how I devoured Koestlin's standard work on Luther, Preger's *Flacius Illyricus*, and other books. And what one student did not know

and see and read was brought to his attention by his friends and classmates. One of the outstanding features in those days was the series of so-called "Lutherstunden," lectures given by Dr. Walther on Friday evenings, based more or less on Luther's writings and emphasizing Luther's theology. Many of my readers know his lectures on Law and Gospel, which appeared in two editions, the shorter one prepared for print by F. Pfothenhauer and E. A. Mayer on the basis of shorthand notes, and the more comprehensive one, published also on the basis of shorthand notes by Theodore Claus and seen through the press by me. Dr. Dau has furnished an excellent translation of the latter edition, and it is well known that also theologians outside our Church think very highly of that volume and in some instances introduced it as a textbook. In recent years a member of the United Lutheran Church borrowed my copy of Walther's *Law and Gospel* and was so impressed by it that he bought the book. If I could only impress upon the younger generation the fact that this work is a theological gem with which but few books in our literature can be compared! It is of the greatest value for sound, truly Lutheran preaching and pastoral care, an excellent means of getting away from the vague, uncertain preaching so often heard nowadays. Dr. Pieper as Walther's successor continued the "Luther Hours" up to the time he was elected President of Synod, but conditions have changed, and these special lectures have fallen by the way. But I must say that Walther's "Lutherstunden" made a deep impression on me and were extremely helpful to the students in their preparation for the ministry. I often think that if also the lectures on the doctrine of justification would be studied more carefully

and thoroughly, the contents of some sermons would be much improved and follow the lines of true Lutheran Gospel preaching instead of the modern tendency of moralizing.

But we also had our clubs, some of which existed for a number of years and were repeatedly revived. One of them



Apollo Glee Club, Concordia Seminary, 1884

First row, from left to right: J. Hansen, A. Buenger, W. Rudolph, O. Hattstaedt, conductor, G. A. Bernthal, E. Holm, C. Doehler. Second row: W. Mattes, F. Bauer, A. H. Kuntz, C. Dietz, J. Rubel. Upper row: A. Bartling, P. Ewh, H. Gerding, L. Fuerbringer, C. Merkel

was called Gamma Sigma (*Gnothi seauton*, Know thyself) and the other Sigma Rho Delta (*synodos rhetoreias kai dialogismou*, the convocation of rhetoric and discussion). In these club meetings we read essays, we debated, we delivered orations, also spoke extemporaneously on some matters, and I still have a number of those papers in my files,

written partly by myself and partly by other members of the club. Nowadays these clubs are supplanted by a Greek Club, a Hebrew Club, a Lutherverein, using the German language exclusively, a Current Events Club, and a Forensic Club. Each club is under the sponsorship of one of the instructors, while we in our Seminary days stood absolutely on our own feet and really did not dare to ask one of our instructors to be present in our meetings. But we certainly enjoyed these activities. Of course, we also spent some time on music, but in an informal way. We had our little choirs but only seldom sang in public. Music was for our own enjoyment. Nowadays we have an orchestra, a band, a chorus, quartets, octets, and similar organizations. But also the purpose of these organizations has changed to some extent. The "Konzertgeist," the idea of appearing in public is prevalent and sometimes uppermost, while we really loved and studied music for its own sake.

The majority of students in those days attended Holy Cross Church, where, as stated in another chapter, Dr. Stöckhardt was pastor. I have already spoken of his sermons and Bible hours. But on certain occasions we also visited other Lutheran churches, especially on festival occasions. In those days the old arrangement was still in force — one large congregation, consisting of four districts: Trinity, Immanuel, Holy Cross, and Zion. Holy Communion was celebrated every second Sunday, and in the afternoon of Communion Sunday "Christenlehre" was conducted, catechetical examination of the catechumens and newly confirmed boys and girls on the basis of Luther's Catechism. On the intervening Sundays the pastors of the four districts exchanged pulpits; in the forenoon the visiting pastor

preached, and in the afternoon the local pastor. In this way we regularly heard other ministers. Pastor Otto Hanser was in charge of Old Trinity, Pastor Gustave Wangerin, the successor of Pastor Buenger, of Immanuel, and Pastor George Link of Zion. "Diversities of gifts, but the same spirit," Hanser walking in the footsteps of Walther, but in an original way, quite oratorical; Wangerin in his sermons making a special use also of the hymns of the Church, so that we sometimes called him the *thesaurus hymnologicus*, and Link always brief, terse, and to the point, following Luther, of whose works he was a very diligent reader. For that reason he was also commissioned to edit a book for family devotions under the title of *Luthers Hausandacht*, and Walther, who was the "Oberpastor," the head minister, of that fourfold congregation, was said to have remarked on a certain occasion: "Der Link predigt uns alle zur Stadt hinaus." A number of times we also attended the meetings of the whole congregation in the school building of Old Trinity on Barry Street, the so-called "Generalversammlungen," which were quite formal and impressive.

Walther continued as president of the institution, although advanced in years and despite much work, but he came over to the Seminary for inspection only very rarely. We led our own lives; also external matters were taken care of in a very simple way. Professor Pieper received the board moneys, we had a steward, Mr. Jungkuntz, whose son entered the ministry and whose grandsons are still in the service of the Church. When we complained about the food, as students in a boarding school are apt to do, I remember that at least on one occasion a so-called *coetus plenarius* was held, with all the members of the faculty present and

Dr. Walther presiding. But the life was a very simple life. Hot water was furnished only on Saturdays, and when at one time we asked to have it available also on Wednesdays, we received the answer: "Was! im Winter baden?" "What! Do you want to bathe in wintertime?" When we complained of the noise created in the large halls of the Seminary building by students passing through, we were not allowed runners to deaden the noise, but were urged to wear "Bambuschen" (a Saxon term for slippers, which only Adolph Buenger and I understood) during the day. But it was a joyous time, remembered by all who were students in those days, days never to be forgotten.

I may add that many of us were also quite well acquainted with members of our churches in St. Louis, were often kindly entertained by them, and some of the friendships formed in those years extended to later life and were renewed when I came to St. Louis as instructor at the Seminary. In those days the members of the various Lutheran churches were in some respects closer to each other than nowadays, met in greater numbers at congregational festivities, and we students quite often had the benefit of it. I wish to record an incident which was of much interest and value to me in a special way.

Across from the Seminary building was located, and it is still there, a Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites. When I was a student, I became acquainted (I do not remember just in what way) with Pastor O. Spehr, who was very much interested in Jewish missions and had visited that Home. Afterwards he contacted me and asked me whether I would read a little English with the doctor and house father of the Home and his wife, because they were unfamiliar with

the language, and in return the doctor would read Hebrew with me. I at once accepted and had some peculiar experiences. The doctor had been educated as a rabbi and knew the Hebrew language extremely well, having learned it as a living language. I read the Old Testament with him, proceeding from easier sections to more difficult chapters, and he was my dictionary and grammar, although he did not know any scientific grammar, but knew that "this must be so, and not otherwise." His wife was the daughter of a noted Jewish rabbi in Poland. He was an infidel, did not believe his own religion, and almost scoffed at everything religious. But his wife, a highly educated woman, was anxious to hear something from me about Christianity and at my instance began to read the Gospels quite faithfully. Pastor Stoeckhardt urged me to read especially the Gospel of St. John with her. Of course, I also explained matters which she did not understand, and she became more favorably disposed to Christianity. Her sister, also a very intelligent woman, was married to the foremost rabbi in St. Louis, a Reformed Jew, and in this way I also became acquainted with them and was invited to their home. There I learned a number of things about Jewry which were interesting to me and of value in later life. When I entered the ministry, I kept up correspondence with the doctor's wife, but after a year or two they returned to Europe and settled in Carlsbad, where he became a well-known physician for people who came to take the famous baths. And it happened several times that members of our churches got acquainted with them, for instance, the well-known St. Louis merchant F. G. Hauelsen; and they never failed to send me greetings. Whether the Gospel truth made any

deeper impression upon her and remained in her heart, I do not know, but I know that she not only admired but loved Jesus, even though she was reluctant to express her sentiments on account of her husband. The story of Nicodemus



One Third of the Graduating Class of Concordia Seminary in 1885

Sitting, from left to right: W. Hagen, E. Baese, G. Link, S. Rygg

Standing: E. L. Arndt, E. Holm, J. Fischer, C. Doehler,
L. Fuerbringer, Oscar Hanser

who came to Jesus by night has been repeated more than once.

But what did the students in those days do in order to relax? Well, we found much pleasure in each other's company and in friendly and oftentimes animated discussion of quite a number of topics, also of secular matters and everyday questions. And some of us also attended concerts and lectures. The Choral Symphony Society existed even in

those early days, rendered fine orchestral concerts, and presented outstanding choral works like Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, which I recall to the present day. And I also had the pleasure of meeting some outstanding St. Louis musicians like Spiering, Louis Mayer, and others. During the annual exposition held in the large Exposition Hall, Patrick Gilmore's band gave daily concerts, which were always very well attended. Gilmore was a favorite of St. Louisans just as John Philip Sousa in later years.

Interesting lectures were given in the city in German and in English. I remember that I heard Carl Schurz, formerly a resident of St. Louis and highly esteemed by its citizens, speak in both languages. And I particularly enjoyed the lectures of the famous naturalist Alfred Brehm, of whom I spoke in the chapter on Dr. Walther. He was invited by the members of the gymnastic societies (Turner), who played quite an important part in the social life of the city in those days and who also sometimes made arrangements for "geistiges Turnen," mental gymnastics. Most of them were liberals, infidels, opposed to the Church. They had asked for one of Brehm's much-favored lectures, the one on monkeys, because he was then considered one of the highest authorities on monkeys; and in those days of Darwin, Vogt, Buechner, and others the "Turners" expected him to state that man descended from apes. But they were rather displeased when Brehm, who always had the courage of his conviction, closed his famous lecture with the words that still ring in my ears: "Ich glaube nicht, meine Damen und Herren, dass der Mensch von den Affen abstammt." "Ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe that man has descended from the apes."

ENTERING THE MINISTRY

MY last Seminary year, 1884 to 1885, was drawing to a close, but I did not have to be solicitous about the field of activity in the Church into which I would be called. If everything had proceeded in a normal way, I would have gone to Germany for a year of further study, since my father favored such a plan, if it could be arranged in a satisfactory way, and it had been my desire for many years. I had intended to continue my studies in the old languages, having read with much interest Freund's *Wie studiert man Philologie* (*How to Study Philology*), and I also intended to take some theological courses, especially after I had heard what my beloved teacher Stoeckhardt had to say about German universities and studies in centers like Berlin, Leipzig, and Erlangen. On one occasion he remarked in his quaint way that it is interesting to know places "wo die Ketzerei aus der Quelle fließt," where heresy originates.

But "der Mensch denkt, aber Gott lenkt." "Man proposes, but God disposes." During my last year at the Seminary my father's eyesight began to fail, and he also felt that he was approaching an age where he no longer could properly take care of the work required in a large congre-

gation. He was completing his seventy-fifth year. In fact, during the years of my theological studies in St. Louis he had intimated that it might become necessary for him to have me as an assistant, and when the eye trouble began and he did not find much relief, although he went to Detroit and to Ann Arbor and consulted able physicians, he, with the consent of the congregation, asked me to interrupt my studies and to come to his assistance, especially for the approaching Christmas season. So I left the Seminary with the consent of my teachers in December, 1884, and assisted my father, preaching almost every Sunday, while he took care of the afternoon and midweek services and the most urgent pastoral visits, which I could not well perform, especially giving Communion to the sick. And the congregation decided to call a second pastor, who in the course of time would naturally become the first pastor also in name and would be obliged to take over the greater part of the work at once. Among a number of candidates the choice fell upon my brother-in-law, Pastor Frederick Sievers, at that time in Minneapolis. My father as well as the congregation thought it best that a man close to my father take over that position. But again, "*der Mensch denkt, aber Gott lenkt*," for after careful consideration Pastor Sievers returned the call for valid reasons, and in the meantime I still continued to help my father. Other candidates had been proposed by Dr. Walther and others, and were considered. But a change in the sentiment of the congregation took place. For reasons which I never learned, the members decided that perhaps it would be best to call me as assistant. Of course, my father and I had to tell the elders that I had not finished my course and therefore could

not give them any definite answer, but would have to return to St. Louis at once to continue my studies in order to be graduated in June. They were satisfied and also were willing to have reading services until I could accept the call and return to them; and then they requested my father to take care of only the most necessary pastoral acts and also sometimes to call in neighboring pastors. So I returned at once — that was in February, 1885 — to St. Louis, presented the matter to my teachers, and continued my studies. The task, of course, that would be assigned to me was not an easy one, but I felt quite sure that I owed it to the congregation as well as to my father to accept and to trust in God to help me to overcome all difficulties. So at the end of June I left the Seminary after the usual examinations and went to my parents' home in Frankenmuth to be ordained and installed at once.

But before I enter upon that phase of my life, I should perhaps say a few things about the final examinations in those days. They were indeed quite different from what they are at the present time. During the school year hardly any special examinations and tests were required aside from some quizzes conducted orally in the classroom. Also the final examination was oral and covered the four chief branches of theology: exegesis, dogmatics, church history, and pastoral theology. The examination in Dogmatics and



The Author, 1885

Pastoral Theology was conducted by Walther, and the students always dreaded these examinations, because it was Walther's habit of selecting any topic from the two-year course and to enter pretty much into detail. It was conducted in Latin, as our whole instruction in Dogmatics had been in Latin, on the basis of Baier-Walther's textbook, while the examination in Pastoral Theology was not so difficult, since these practical matters were better known and could be more easily studied in Walther's *Pastorale*. The examination in Exegesis was held by Professor Extraordinarius Stoeckhardt, who had given the exegetical courses in the Senior class, covering in my year the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament and Ephesians in the New Testament. We had to translate certain passages or sections from the original and answer questions with regard to their interpretation. The examination in Church History was conducted by Professor Schaller and covered some period in this branch. If my memory serves me well, the examination in each branch took about one hour and was attended quite regularly by some of the local ministers and even some laymen. And then we received our diplomas together with the calls into the ministry that had been assigned to us, the assignment committee having met some time previous to the close of the school year for such purpose.

But now to return to my ministry in Frankenmuth. The history of that old congregation is, at least in a general way, well known. Frankenmuth was the first of the colonies of Loehe and was always very dear to him, also after the close relationship of our Synod to its benefactor for many years had to be severed on account of doctrinal differences. I re-

member from my younger days that even after Loehe's death his daughter, Marianne, corresponded occasionally with members of the Frankenmuth congregation. Loehe had selected the first colonists, five young couples and two single young men, with great care, had to some extent taught and prepared them for their work in America, and had thus given a definite stamp to the congregation, which is to be noticed up to the present time. I can well say that I know but very few congregations whose members, generally speaking, were so well informed and indoctrinated as the members of that church. I remember how astonished I was that when reading and discussing the constitution of the church in a congregational meeting, one of the members arose and explained correctly that we accept the symbolical writings of our Church not *in so far* as they agree with Scripture, but *because* they agree with it, even using the Latin terms *non quatenus sed quia*, and I could give other



The Present Brick Church in Frankenmuth, Dedicated in 1880, in Which the Author was Ordained and Officiated from 1885 to 1893

examples of their theological knowledge. Some members read *Lehre und Wehre* year after year, especially one of whom I have spoken in the chapter on Dr. Walther, John Bierlein, a representative of our Synod in the colloquy with representatives of the Iowa Synod in 1867, who regularly came to my father one evening every week to discuss matters of doctrine and church life. This fact, of course, is also due to the work of the ministers who were the shepherds of the Frankenmuth church: first that notable character builder and theologian August Craemer, who served the congregation from 1845 to 1850 and in whose days, in 1847, our Synod was organized in Chicago, the Frankenmuth church being one of the charter members and represented at the first meeting by Craemer and one of the first colonists, J. L. Bernthal. They traveled to Chicago in those days of poor transportation facilities by way of Mackinaw. After Craemer had been called to our practical theological seminary, then located in Fort Wayne, Pastor Karl Roebbelen, also one of the men sent to America by Loehe, took over the congregation. He was an excellent theologian and one of the foremost preachers our Synod ever had. Some of his writings in the *Lutheraner* and in *Lehre und Wehre*, some pamphlets and printed sermons, are testimonials of his learning and ability. Roebbelen had to resign on account of his health and returned to Germany, and during his last year and in the vacancy Pastor J. A. Huegli, one of the graduates of the St. Louis Seminary, had charge of the congregation until my father, at that time pastor in Freistadt and Kirchhayn in Wisconsin and President of the then so-called Northern District, was able to accept the call and come to Frankenmuth in 1858. Although he was my father

and while for that reason I do not care to extol his gifts, everyone who knew him will bear me out that he was an excellent theologian, a thoroughgoing interpreter of Scripture, a deep and clear thinker, and able to make points clear in his sermons and catechetical instructions. I again refer for these matters to some of the letters printed in the two volumes of Walther's letters and to Dr. E. A. Mayer's very well-written history of Frankenmuth, published in 1895, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the congregation.

And now I was to become my father's assistant. From the very start I had to take over the greater part of the work in the congregation and more and more so in the following years until finally I became his successor. I can truthfully say that I was very timid in taking over this position, because I felt time and again that I was not able to follow the example set by my three predecessors, and the position seemed to be even more difficult when I considered that I had been born and reared in Frankenmuth among the people to whom I now should minister. But this last-mentioned matter did not cause me any difficulties. The Frankenmuth congregation had been trained by Loehe from its very beginning to respect the ministry, and this attitude has been continued on the part of the members for almost a hundred years. I could mention a number of points to substantiate this if time and space would permit, and I have often thought of this matter when I hear and see how some congregations treat their pastors. They do not count them worthy of double honor, according to the injunction of the Apostle, but accord them only half honor or no honor at all. Quite a number of the young men and women among

my members had been my schoolmates; but while they were glad that this had been the case, they never took advantage of it. They considered me from the very beginning as their pastor. Sometimes it was almost humorous. Of course, I was known to most of the members by my first name and was called by that name when they spoke of me in their homes. Off and on when making a pastoral visit and hitching my horse to the post, I heard the children that happened to be outside run into the house and exclaim, "Der Ludwig kummt"; but when I entered the house, I was greeted as "Herr Pfarrer" or "Herr Pastor," and I never had reason to complain of undue familiarity. I remember one instance when an old member of the church, in some matter which I do not recall, differed with me; but when he voiced his opinion, he prefaced it by saying in the congregational meeting, "Es geht mir arg hart o," it is very hard for me to do so. And for that reason I was also ready to accept the call as my father's successor and did not think of making a change since the vote in calling me was unanimous. It was quite a boon for me that I was able to understand the Bavarian vernacular, which is so fascinating that even in my old age I like to use some expressions when meeting some of the many ministers that have come from Frankenthum and had sprung from Bavarian families. Quite often the natural humor of these Franconians finds expression in their concepts and terminology. In this way I was able to understand every word that was being said in public and private without any difficulty; but I remember that Dr. Pieper, when investigating a matter and attending a congregational meeting in another Franconian colony, had difficulty in understanding the people. He knew Low German,

but had never had any contact with Franconians, and he noticed that while all the people were able to converse in the regular High German, which they had learned in school and heard in church, still when they became animated, they naturally fell into their vernacular.

This natural humor of the Frankenmuth people was brought out even in discussions on the floor of synodical conventions, and I recall several instances where the lay delegate from Frankenmuth brought the discussion to a close by making a remark which was at the same time pertinent and had a touch of humor. Once there was a discussion whether (what is now being done almost everywhere) the contributions of every congregation to the synodical treasuries should be summarized and published. Some speakers maintained that that was a legalistic attitude, others remarked that it was an evangelical procedure; then the delegate from Frankenmuth got up and said in his broad Franconian dialect, "Dees is nit gesetzlich und nit evangelisch; dees is *business*," "not legalistic, not evangelical, but — business" — and that settled the matter. On another occasion the matter of founding a sanitarium for tubercular patients was brought to the Delegate Synod and considered in an open meeting. Some were in favor of it, some opposed it, and finally the delegate from Frankenmuth got up and said, "Now we have had quite a number of requests for money to be collected by our churches: that institution would like to have this, and that institution requests us to put up such a building, and that mission wants to undertake this, and that other mission intends to broaden out in that way." He enumerated a number of those requests. And then he concluded in this way: "And now

comes that good fellow Christian (*der liebe Mann*) from — and asks us to build a sanitarium for consumptive patients. I am afraid, if we continue in that way, we finally shall all get ‘*die Schwindsucht in den Geldbeutel*,’ ” “get consumption in our pocketbook” — and that again settled the matter, and it was voted down. (In order not to be misunderstood, I am very happy to say that later on our young people took hold of the matter and are supporting and maintaining our Sanatorium in Wheat Ridge to the present day.) On another occasion which I remember the matter of marrying the deceased wife’s sister was brought up on the floor of the Michigan District convention. Some of my older readers may remember the incident. An excellent statement was offered by one who was a good theologian and later became a Vice-President of General Synod. He brought the proof from Scripture and presented the opinion of Luther and of other teachers of our Church, but the opponents, or rather the opponent, still maintained his position. After some of the ministers had spoken in this matter, the delegate from Frankenmuth asked for the floor and said something like the following: “Now we have heard what the Scriptures tell us in this matter. We have also heard what our learned and faithful teachers in bygone days, also in our own days, have maintained on the basis of Scripture. And now comes a young minister and says practically, ‘That is all wrong.’” And then he concluded again in the Frankenmuth vernacular: “*Ich mein’ halt, dees is doch zu naiv*,” “in my opinion this is too naive,” and that was the end of the discussion.

While the work in the congregation was considerable and increased with the growth of the congregation and modern

developments, and while the responsibility for such a large congregation often rested heavy on me, I look back to those years with love and gratitude; and while I could mention some things that caused me considerable trouble and worry, I always felt that the vast majority of the congregation was listening to me and to my words of indoctrination and admonition and was on my side. They also showed their love and respect in many ways. During the years of my activity they built a beautiful, large parsonage, making full provision for my aged parents, with whom I lived, and for myself. But it so happened that I lived in that parsonage for only two years.

The congregation was scattered very widely, and quite a number of the members lived at a considerable distance from church and parsonage. While my father had never had a conveyance — whenever it was necessary for him to visit the people or perform ministerial acts in their homes, they had to get him and bring him back — I from the very start was convinced that I must have my own horse and buggy, and I spent many an hour, especially in those seasons when the roads were in poor condition, on the way. Good roads at that time were not as yet established, and the first gravel road was built while I was in Frankenmuth. Quite often I wished for the day when better conveyances would be available and usable, but in those days the automobile was still in the future. And so I was content with horse, buggy, and a two-wheeled cart, sometimes riding on horseback; and I also had to take care of my horse. But even those so-called “primitive” conditions had their value.

The congregation, being widely scattered, had to have a number of schools in outlying districts, and there were

enough teachers to form a little conference. We even had a string quartet or quintet, in which I played the cello. And I must also say that all the teachers of the congregation were very kind and friendly to me, although some of them were considerably older than I — one of them had been my teacher, another one my godfather — but they never took advantage of that fact. I am firmly convinced that, as a rule, a pastor can get along quite well with his teachers if both parties always bear in mind their different callings and activity, and consider themselves co-workers in the interest of the congregation. Between some of them and myself there existed a friendship which continued long after my transfer to St. Louis. The teachers of the congregation were also helpful in maintaining the fine and correct liturgical character of the public services, especially Cantor Riedel, who came from Bavaria, where the churches have always been known as good liturgical churches. And Loehe (the Loehe of the earlier years) and his co-laborers, especially Friedrich Hommel, left their liturgical imprint on the Franconian colonies. I think I can say without exaggeration that there are not many other churches in our Synod that could be compared with Frankenmuth in this respect. I remember that President Schwan and others who, when I was pastor there, came to Frankenmuth from Saginaw on synodical Sunday were deeply impressed by the service, especially the powerful singing of the Lutheran chorales. Everybody joined in singing, men and women, old and young, and the congregation was really a “singende Kirche.” Also the finer parts of the Lutheran liturgy were used from the very beginning of the congregation. In the Communion service — and because it was a large congregation and on

account of private confession and absolution on Saturday afternoon the Lord's Supper was celebrated every Sunday — the Nunc Dimittis ending with the Gloria Patri was sung according to the old correct tune, the Sanctus was sung in the fine, stately setting of Lossius, which agrees so well with the words. (This setting was also given in the first musical agenda of our English District, published by the English Missouri Synod, 1905, and in Hoelter's *Choralbuch*, but unfortunately has now been eliminated, and the Sanctus is almost universally sung according to the tune of 1848 (?), the origin of which no one seems to know and which can certainly not be considered good and outstanding church music.) The great Te Deum Laudamus of the Ancient Church, translated by Luther and harmonized by M. Vulpius, was regularly sung on the minor festivals of the church year, which were all observed in Frankenmuth on St. John's Day, the three St. Mary's days, and others. The first line was sung by the men, the second by the women, and everyone having an ear for music will concede that this agrees very beautifully with the peculiar tune for the two choirs.

I always considered it a great boon that I still had my father at my side to help, counsel, and teach me. While he was glad to turn over the various activities in church and congregation to me, I always felt that he had the benefit of a long and valuable experience and was able to give advice from Scripture as well as from sound pastoral wisdom and good common sense. It naturally happened sometimes that in practical cases we differed in opinion, but even then he showed his wisdom and pastoral prudence in conceding that I must follow my own conviction and conscience, and

never insisted that he, being the head pastor, should have the final word.

Being an old man in those days and having been rather retiring all his life, given to studies and much reading, he often directed me to good and solid reading matter in his extensive library and also told me quite a number of things and incidents in synodical life, especially in the earlier years of our synodical organization. On the other hand, my mother, having a very good memory and active interest in all church matters, related to me many things that had happened in the Old Country and in the first years after their emigration to this country, and of church conditions in Illinois, in Wisconsin, and finally in Michigan. My only regret is that I did not put down in writing more of these things, because, although, generally speaking, I have a tolerably good memory, quite a number of interesting details which I knew forty or fifty years ago have now escaped my memory.

EIGHT YEARS IN THE MINISTRY AT FRANKENMUTH

FOR SEVEN YEARS, until my father's death in 1892, I was his assistant in the Frankenmuth congregation, and after his demise I was elected as his successor and remained in that position until I was called to St. Louis in 1893. Those years were years of much practical experience, for which I have always been thankful, and I hold the firm conviction that one who is to educate future ministers for service in the Church must have spent at least some years in the active ministry. That will give him a wider outlook, a better understanding of people, which in some way or other he can impart to his students. There is no more beautiful work in the world than the work in the ministry, and I am sure that St. Paul's statement 1 Tim. 3:1 "If a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work" is true to the letter. I treasure in my memory especially the instruction which I had to give in confirmation classes and the spiritual experience of those whom I had to visit on their sickbed (which often became their deathbed), which showed again and again the wonderful power of the Gospel to salvation; and I think I can also say that my powers of observation were considerably increased by my

work in the congregation and by contact with many different people, old and young. Of course, I also found that Bengel's brief remark on 1 Tim. 3:1 — and what a remarkable gift for brief and yet comprehensive exposition did Bengel show in his Latin *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* — is very true: *Negotium, non otium*, the ministry is and should be a business, a work, a vocation, and not an avocation. I often felt that I lacked the necessary time for study and preparation for my sermons and pastoral visits; but I am happy to say that partly due to the instruction received from my beloved teachers at St. Louis and partly to the example of my own father I tried to keep up a regular schedule of studies. This consisted chiefly in the reading of the Bible in *lectio continua*, continued reading, in the study of the Confessions of our Church, and of Luther's works aside from other theological books, in the careful and conscientious reading of the periodicals of our own church body, and in some instances also of other church bodies, and scientific theological journals from home and abroad. In those days it was the commendable custom of our pastors to buy and to read almost everything issued by our Concordia Publishing House, and I tried to follow that custom. I am especially thankful that my father, as before him Walther, Pieper, Stoeckhardt, and Guenther, interested me and urged me to read Luther regularly; and since he had only the rather unwieldy Leipzig edition of Luther's works in folio volumes, I soon became the proud possessor of our St. Louis edition. This reading of, and searching in, Luther I have tried to keep up to the present day, and such reading and searching I cannot impress too deeply on the younger generation. They will not only derive great benefit but also much joy

from it, and I can only wish that I had such a fine knowledge of Luther as Pieper, Guenther, and Stoeckhardt had. Also works about Luther proved to be excellent reading, especially in my St. Louis days, and I need only mention the works of Koestlin, Kolde, Wilhelm Walther, Karl Holl, Karl Stange, Hans Preuss, Preserved Smith. Preuss has stated somewhere that in the preparation of his three books on Luther he turned every page of the great Weimar edition of Luther's works, which comprises 87 large volumes and is not yet complete. How I envied him when I read this! But I must mention another matter, which is even more important and very dear to my heart.

Influenced by Stoeckhardt and my father, I arranged my schedule in such a way that I daily found a little time for the reading of Scripture in the original, and this reading I have observed as a regular habit throughout my life. Every day, aside from my immediate work and preparation for my lectures, at least a few minutes must be given to the Hebrew and Greek text in order to remain familiar with the Holy Original; Hebrew on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, Greek on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. This I did, as a rule, right after my daily Bible reading in the morning or, if pressing work or visits demanded my time, at some other hour during the day. If I was not able to read three new verses, I read three verses which I had read before, quite often aloud in order to hear the sound of Greek and Hebrew. In this way I was able to read not only the whole Greek Testament again and again, but also a great part of the Old Testament, and I still have and use to the present day the lists of words which I had to look up in the dictionary, because it sometimes happens that one for-

gets the meaning of a word. What joy I got out of such reading, especially of the Greek New Testament, which very soon I no longer translated, but simply read just as I read German and English. Very true is the statement which Dr. E. G. Sihler, for many years professor of the classics at different institutions, also for one year at our Milwaukee Concordia College, but chiefly professor of the Latin language and literature at the University of New York, makes in a reminiscent mood in his *Confessions and Convictions of a Classicist*: "I reasoned with myself and found that if I were to read with care some heavy exegetical commentary on a portion of an author or on some single work of an author, I could in the same time and with vastly more profit read my entire author through from cover to cover. More and more I conceived the careful and still fairly rapid reading of the texts as the main thing for me, a veritable 'law and the prophets' of scholarship. As I look around me, I see Hellenists few and fewer: but what Latin scholar can there be whose deeper equipment is not and can be anything but the tongue in which there is conveyed to us all that which, after all, constitutes the irreducible minimum and the maximum, too, of Greek letters, viz., the Greek Testament." ¹⁾ In this habit I was also confirmed by some of our older ministers. I remember that Dr. Zorn, whom I learned to know very well in later years, had at one time in his life given up reading Hebrew and after a number of years was no longer able to read the language. Then he said to himself: Is it not a shame that you claim to be a Lutheran theologian, that you prize above everything the open Bible, and yet you are not able to read the Word of your God and Savior in the Hebrew original?

And then he sat down and again learned the Hebrew, starting with a minimum of three verses daily, but sometimes, out of sheer love of the subject matter, read three chapters. I also remember Pastor Joseph Schmidt, a leader in our conference and for some years President of the Michigan District, who faithfully continued such reading in the ministry; Pastor Gustave Spiegel of Jackson, also an earnest student of the Hebrew language, and among the older living men Pastor J. F. Boerger of Racine, Wis., who, although of our practical seminary at Springfield, has acquired a fine knowledge of the Hebrew Old Testament. And I could mention quite a number of young ministers whom I told of these examples and to whom I gave this advice — their letters in season and out of season show that they are following such a habit regularly, and the longer they continue, they write, the more they love to do it. It takes a firm resolution to do it, a little backbone; but certainly the benefit is yours. I can truthfully say that as often as I have read the Bible in the German and the English translation, in the Greek and the Hebrew original, I have had the experience of Luther that hardly a day or a week passes that I do not find something new in a text which I have read perhaps many times and which now strikes me for the first time and increases my Biblical and theological knowledge. And since I sometimes felt the need of having at least a little reading knowledge of other languages, I used a Norwegian, a French, a Spanish, and an Italian New Testament with the English in parallel columns, so that without much labor and constant use of dictionaries I at once got the meaning of an unknown word in those languages. When one of my former students, who was in

the ministry only a few years and then for valid reasons entered a secular profession, heard that I always had my Greek Testament with me when traveling, he presented me with an excellent pocket edition of it on India paper; and when I happened to hear that my friend Pastor Carl Gausewitz of Milwaukee had suffered a stroke and passed away in the sacristy of his church with the open Bible before him while the congregation was waiting for him to come to the altar, I wrote below the inscription with which that former student dedicated that volume to me the words of Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose theology I disdain and reject, but who was the first one to edit the printed text of the Greek New Testament: *Felix ille quem in hisce litteris meditantem mors occupat*, Blessed is he whom death encounters while meditating on this book.

When I became pastor in Frankenmuth, I naturally joined the Michigan District, and since my father was no longer able to attend meetings, I was always permitted to represent our congregation at the synodical conventions and to be a regular participant in the pastoral conferences. In this way I became well acquainted with that old and important District of our Synod and particularly with the pastors and teachers of the Saginaw Valley and of Northern and Western Michigan. And in looking back on those eight years spent in Michigan, I must again record my sincere gratitude to God and to the fathers and brethren in the ministry. It is well known that the Michigan District was one of the original four Districts into which General Synod was divided in 1853 and 1854. It was then called the Northern District, comprising besides Michigan also Wisconsin and Minnesota and at one time also the Canadian Province of

Ontario. Under the leadership of men well known in the history of our Church this District always occupied a distinct and prominent position. I need only mention men like my father, who was the first President of the District and continued in that office for many years, Ferdinand Sievers, Sr., in Frankenlust, Frederick Lochner and C. H. Loeber in Milwaukee, and others too numerous to name. When I entered the ministry, Pastor Joseph Schmidt of Saginaw had been elected the successor of my father in the presidency. He was the leader, and other men, like Herman Lemke in Manistee, J. Ph. Partenfelder in Bay City, J. A. Huegli and K. L. Moll in Detroit, G. Spiegel in Jackson — just to mention a few names — ably supported him. They saw to it that the synodical meetings and the conferences were well conducted, that the essays read at those conventions were indeed worth while, and that especially the pastoral conferences, the larger as well as the smaller ones, did not spend too much time in considering external and financial matters, but devoted by far the greater part and the best time of their meetings to the presentation and discussion of theological matters. Because Saginaw was quite close to Frankenmuth and I therefore had to go to that city quite often with horse and buggy, I was fortunate in getting pretty close to Joseph Schmidt. Since he spent the greater part of his life in Michigan, he was not so well known outside that District, even though later on, after I had left Frankenmuth, he became president and professor at our college in Fort Wayne. I felt at that time, and still feel, that he was gifted rather for the active ministry and theological leadership than for a college professorship, and I must say that although he was almost twenty years older

than I, our acquaintance ripened into friendship. He kept up not only his theological studies, but also his linguistics, and I owe much to him. He imparted what he knew in a very casual way, but he was a wide reader and possessed a mature judgment, and therefore was able to assist and help a younger minister who was also interested in theology and in the languages. He had an excellent library and actually knew everything in our own literature and continued to buy outstanding modern works, especially in the field of the sacred languages, exegesis, and history.

But it is only natural that I formed close friendships with the younger men in the ministry, and also here I cannot mention many names, but I recall as one of my dearest friends Ferdinand Sievers, Jr., who had the same interests as I and who had inherited from his father the great love for mission work in general and for foreign mission work in particular, so that at one time he was elected Director of Foreign Missions and had already been instructed to visit Japan; but on account of the development in India, where some missionaries had left the Leipzig Mission and turned to our Synod, this plan did not materialize, and Professor Zucker of Fort Wayne took over the direction of that mission work because he himself had been a missionary in India. Sievers at one time was also chosen to go to Australia to become the director of the college in Adelaide, but declined on account of his health and other reasons, and the position was filled by my classmate and good friend Frederick Graebner, who at that time was Partenfelder's successor in Bay City, Mich. I must also mention Herman Speckhard, who in those days was pastor in Ionia, Mich., and later in Sebewaing and in Saginaw. He was also much

interested in such studies, and his articles and essays in *Lehre und Wehre* and in synodical reports still deserve to be studied. At one time he was also one of the Vice-Presidents of our General Body. Later on I was associated in Michigan with friends of my own age like George Link and Theodore Engelder. Let me emphasize in passing how important for young ministers well-conducted pastoral conferences are. For an article on such conferences I refer the reader to a contribution of mine in the memorial issue of the *Concordia Theological Monthly*, dedicated to my present colleague Theodore Engelder on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.²⁾ Although I left Michigan almost fifty years ago, I still know that District as well as any other synodical District and cherish the memory of those by-gone days.

FROM FRANKENMUTH TO ST. LOUIS

WHEN I was called to take my father's place in the old venerable Frankenmuth congregation, I felt very strongly that the task of ministering to and guiding such a large and important congregation was really beyond my gifts and powers. Yet it soon became very clear to me that I should accept the call. The confidence which the people placed in me overwhelmed me, and those whom I consulted were unanimous in advising me to remain in Frankenmuth, and I did so very gladly, also because I had not received any other call and felt an obligation to serve the people. But already in the years before I accepted the call and especially in the last year, I felt more and more that there was too much work to be done and the responsibility of carrying on was too great. And the congregation, realizing this, was very willing to grant me an assistant. The call for an assistant was sent to the Board of Assignment, but in those days there were always many more calls than candidates, and the Board felt that I, being a young man, should continue alone for the present and an assistant might be granted in a later year. But since I had for many years intended to visit Europe, the proper officials agreed to permit one of the candidates of that year, L. A.

Wissmueller, to serve the congregation during my absence and then follow the call that was given him to another congregation in Michigan. This was arranged at the convention in St. Louis in April and May, 1893, which I attended, having been elected a delegate for the first time, though I had visited the conventions in Fort Wayne in 1887, when Dr. Walther passed away, and in Milwaukee, where I found very pleasant lodging with my uncle and aunt, Pastor and Mrs. Lochner, and had the privilege of listening to, and getting acquainted with, the venerable Prof. August Craemer of Springfield, the first pastor of my congregation and the intimate friend and colaborer of Pastor Lochner.

The days of the St. Louis convention were passed in the hospitable home of my adopted sister, Mrs. Guenther. These were very pleasant days indeed. Dr. Schwan, the venerable and very able President of Synod, even placed me on a committee, the chairman of that committee being Pastor H. Engelbrecht of Chicago. I do not think that I said a word on the floor of the convention and made but very few remarks in the committee meeting, but left these things to older and more experienced men and listened to their most interesting deliberations. At that time Dr. Pieper had not as yet coined an expression which I have since then quoted a number of times, that there is not only, and should not only be, intelligent speaking, but also an intelligent silence, "intelligentes Schweigen," referring to Acts 15:12. That was the last time I saw Professor Guenther, because the convention had hardly adjourned when on Pentecost Monday he was stricken. Having been away from my congregation just several weeks before, I was not able to attend his funeral.

But now the supplying of two vacancies in the St. Louis faculty became very imperative. Prof. Rudolph Lange had passed away October 2, 1892, and although several calls had been issued, the position had not as yet been filled; and now also Guenther's professorship had to be taken care of. The call for nominations was issued very soon thereafter, and to my great surprise my name was among the candidates. But I did not give this matter very much or very serious thought, because men like Pastor Frederick Bente, Pastor C. C. Schmidt, and other outstanding men were on the list, and so I continued my preparations to go to Europe. I had engaged passage, and everything had been arranged. However, a member of the Electoral College, knowing about my plan to go to Europe, advised me to await at least the outcome of the election, and since he also very earnestly urged me to do so, I did not go farther than Detroit, where I visited my sister, Mrs. Moll, intending as soon as I had heard who had been elected to proceed to New York and take my boat. But "der Mensch denkt, aber Gott lenkt." Contrary to all my expectations I was notified by telegram that I had been elected, and so I felt obliged to return to Frankenmuth in order to inform my congregation of the matter and to consider the call. I was not at all sure about the matter, and since just at that time, the end of June or the beginning of July, the professors' conference met at Chicago, I thought it best to go there and consult the three men of the St. Louis faculty, Professors Pieper and Stoeckhardt, who had been my teachers, and Prof. A. L. Graebner, whom I had met on several occasions, at the Synodical Conference in 1886 in Detroit, at Synod's convention in 1890, and on whom I also had called in his home

when visiting St. Louis in 1889 and 1893, because his writings and his extensive and many-sided knowledge had always interested me, especially his studies and research work in the history of the American Lutheran Church, the first volume of which had appeared in 1892. Dr. Pieper very frankly told me at that conference that he and most probably also others had been surprised that I was elected, but when I asked him very definitely whether he thought that I could qualify at least to some extent, he answered in the affirmative, and encouraged me to accept the call. Professor Stoeckhardt did the same thing, perhaps in a somewhat stronger way, because he knew that I was interested very much in Biblical studies and in some of the branches mentioned in the call. And Professor Graebner, although he hardly could have known me better than any average minister, in his very courteous and friendly way agreed and also spoke words of encouragement. But I still hesitated. However, I must say that two factors prompted me to look more favorably on the matter. First, the opportunity for more extended theological studies, especially in the Biblical field, which was offered to me, and, secondly, the conviction that it would be better for an entirely new man to take charge of the Frankenmuth congregation. And when the call was considered in the congregational meeting and the voting members felt that the call to St. Louis was more important than my present call, I finally accepted, trusting in God that He would assist, help, and strengthen me. I may also add that all the pastors in Michigan whom I consulted, especially Pastor Joseph Schmidt of Saginaw, and the teachers of my own congregation, who were always quite close to me, with whom I had associated in many a conference,

in Frankenmuth and outside Frankenmuth, — all advised and some even urged me to accept.

Since Pastor Wissmueller had been ordained and was able and willing to serve the congregation until a successor had been called and installed, I felt that I should leave Frankenmuth as soon as possible in order to be in St. Louis for the beginning of the new academic year in September. This was the more necessary because only three men were on duty, and the fifth professorship had as yet not been filled. My mother was willing to go with me to St. Louis, and although she had to sever lifelong associations with the good people of Frankenmuth, she was at the same time quite glad to return to St. Louis, because that had been her first home after she had married Pastor O. Herman Walther of Old Trinity Church. Not having been in St. Louis for twenty years, she longed to see the old places and old friends and relatives. But it was not an easy thing to move, especially on account of my large library, and I was always loath to part with any book, because one never knows when it may be needed. This has been my experience even to the present day. As soon as you give away a book which you may have not used for twenty years, you will surely want to consult it after it is gone. But finally we were ready to move, and I went to St. Louis in August; my mother, who wished to visit her other children and old-time friends, intended to come later. And so, after having stopped over at Fort Wayne and bought books which I did not possess and might need for my studies, I arrived in St. Louis August 20. Much to my surprise, I was met at the station. Dr. Pieper was there to welcome me and also two members of the Board of Control, Mr. A. G. Brauer and Mr. H. Ellermann,

who took Dr. Pieper and me to the house that had been assigned to me; and since Mrs. Guenther and her daughters lived in the immediate neighborhood, I was well taken care of. I stayed with them and made the necessary arrangements for establishing my home. The three men who were to be my colleagues were very kind and courteous to the newcomer, advised me with regard to my lectures whenever I consulted them, and made me feel at home from the very beginning. This was especially true of Professor Stoeckhardt, who happened to be my closest neighbor for a short time, living in that double house which later on for thirty-three years was the home of Professor Bente and myself. He resided on the west side, where formerly Professor Guenther had lived, who after Walther's death had moved into Walther's house, and I was assigned the eastern half of the building, where at one time Professor Brauer had lived after the house had been built in 1870, then Professor Schaller up to the time of his death, and finally Prof. A. L. Graebner, who, however, had moved into Professor Lange's residence. Even before I had arrived in St. Louis, the three men of the faculty had decided that I should take care of the library, and I was only too glad to consider that as one of my duties, because in my student days and up to the time of his death Guenther had been in charge of the library, and I was his student assistant together with George Bernthal and William Dallmann. So I settled down, unpacked my library, for which I found ample shelfroom in the house, and began to prepare for the lectures that were to begin in two or three weeks. But even before I began my actual work, Dr. Stoeckhardt requested me to contribute to the church periodicals. At that time Professor Pieper was

in charge of *Lehre und Wehre*, Professor Graebner had taken over the *Lutheraner* after Guenther's death, and Professor Stoeckhardt had charge of the *Magazin fuer Homiletik*, also after Guenther's death; and although my colleagues knew that I was in the fullest sense of the term a new hand and had not written anything for publication, they impressed upon me the necessity of starting at once and assisting them a little in editorial work.

INSTRUCTOR AT THE SEMINARY

REGARDING my field of instruction at the Seminary the Faculty and the Board of Control thought it best that I as well as the new man to be called should take over the branches taught by the two sainted teachers, Professors Lange and Guenther. My respected colleagues, experienced men, decided, and I agreed with them, that the so-called introductory branches should be taught by one man, and therefore my call required me to teach Encyclopedia and Methodology, or Propaedeutics, Old and New Testament Introduction, or Isagogics, and Hermeneutics; but also Symbolics and Philosophy were mentioned and a minor course in Exegesis. An election had already taken place to fill the other professorship. Pastor C. C. Schmidt had been chosen, and the matter was under consideration just when I arrived in St. Louis. However, he finally declined the call and remained with Holy Cross Church, and it was expected that the call would be extended to Pastor Frederick Bente of Humberstone, Ontario, and this came to pass. For that reason, with the consent of the Faculty, I did not teach Symbolics and Philosophy, because I felt that Pastor Schmidt, as well as Professor Bente, especially the latter, was in a special way fitted

to teach these branches, and so I confined myself to Isaagogics, Hermeneutics, Propaedeutics, and a brief course in Exegesis. These branches suited me very well, and I taught them with great pleasure. The chief theological branches were in the very best hands: Professor Stoeckhardt taught Old and New Testament Exegesis, Professor Pieper Dogmatics and Pastoral Theology, and Professor Graebner Church History and a course in English Dogmatics. Later Professor Graebner also taught Liturgics, which, however, at that time was not in the regular curriculum. In the course of years, on account of illness of the older men or vacancies or for other reasons, I also had to teach other branches, just as with the growth of the student body and the increase in number of faculty members I gave up some of the branches I had taught. Thus I was called upon one year to teach a main course in Exegesis, in another year I also had to cover Church History and still later Liturgics. This I never regretted. On the contrary, I was very glad to do so, because I felt, theoretically and by experience, that such teaching would widen my horizon and theological learning. I have never been in favor of too much specialization, because, according to my observation, while it certainly is very pleasant and of great value to the individual, on the other hand, it makes a teacher somewhat narrow and to some extent hinders his full development. So I began to teach the branches mentioned above, and I recalled a statement, which I also repeated to others, a word of Ulrich von Hutten, the prominent Humanist in Luther's days: "Die Studien bluehen; es ist eine Lust zu leben." "The studies flourish; it is a joy to live." Naturally, being a young and untried man and previously having had charge of a large

congregation which required much work, I now had to spend all available time for preparation, and very often I felt that I could not do justice to the matter and give the students what they ought to have. Every day I had to overcome mountains, and quite often I entered the classroom with fear and trepidation. It also happened, especially when teaching those branches in which more thorough work had to be done, that I was anxious to hear the bell announcing the end of the lecture, because I had used up almost everything that I had prepared for that special period. But those were some of the happiest years in my life. I was a young man when I began to teach, twenty-nine years old, and very soon got into pretty close touch with the students, 130 in number in my first year, particularly with the members of the two lower classes, since I did not teach the seniors in the first year. They respected the three older men of the faculty very highly and knew that they learned the best things from them, but they also felt that I was nearer to them on account of my age, and they called on me and talked matters over with me in a very friendly and cordial way. And I must say, in the evening of my life, that I never had any trouble with the vast majority of the students, now numbering over 4,000. Also the fact that I had charge of the library brought me into closer contact with them, although our library facilities in those days were not at all what they are now.

The method of instruction was also quite different from what it is today, all members of the faculty following to a great extent the lecture method. But I was able in those early years to advise quite a number of students also with regard to their private reading, which was perhaps more

prevalent than it is today, because the extra-curricular activities were much more limited than they are at the present time. Just for that reason I also demanded more work on the part of my students in later years than I did at the beginning and tried to guide them to do independent and original work. It took me a number of years to find out by practical experience the best and most successful way of teaching, and I have but very little patience with those men who think that they are great teachers when they start. Not only the subject matter, but also the method must be learned by experience and in the classroom, not merely by taking courses in education and educational psychology, and there is great wisdom in that old adage: *docendo discimus*, we learn by teaching. For this as well as for other reasons I have always considered it my first duty and obligation to prepare as well as I could for my lectures and not to engage in multifarious outside undertakings and activities. The affairs of the Church can be taken care of by other men called and appointed by the Church for such purposes, although a theological professor must, of course, always take an active interest also in those affairs, because he has to instruct the future ministers of the Church. I fully agree with what Professor Theodore Kolde, the famous Luther scholar and Luther biographer, records of his teacher in Church History, Herman Reuter, and what he himself observed in his teaching career: "To work for his lectures he [Reuter] considered the true and proper task of the professor. He never could satisfy himself in this respect. Again and again he examined what he had accepted in former years and analyzed every new statement; and he considered it his duty to permit his students to participate

in his work in order to lead them into the reasons of his knowledge and conviction.”¹⁾ Just recently I read that the late Professor George Herbert Palmer of Harvard has described in an essay on “The Ideal Teacher” some of the qualities which make the true teacher a typical democrat. First, he tells us, a teacher must have an aptitude for vicariousness; second, an already accumulated wealth; third, an ability to invigorate life through knowledge; and fourth, a readiness to be forgotten. Professor Palmer goes on to explain what he means by these somewhat cryptic attributes. By a talent for vicariousness he means that the teacher must find his larger satisfaction not in what he does himself in the world of scholarship, but in what he helped his students to accomplish; by accumulated wealth he refers to the store of wisdom which the teacher has acquired by long association with the scholars who have preceded him; by an ability to invigorate life through knowledge he means that he must think of the truths which he tries to share not as abstract propositions existing in their own right, but as convictions which when appropriated may vitalize and transform character; and, finally, by readiness to be forgotten — the teacher’s ultimate virtue — he means that willingness to lose self in the life of others.²⁾

Naturally, I looked up to the three older men in the faculty with much reverence. Two of them had been my own teachers, and all three were learned men, in the prime of life, and although they differed very much from each other, each one was a master in his field. Professor Pieper, the president of the faculty, was an excellent teacher of Dogmatics. I always felt, and feel so today, that our institution never had a better teacher in that field. He pos-

sessed the great gift of clarity and was able to present the Christian doctrine lucidly and comprehensively on the basis of Scripture and of our Confessions. I always listened, up to his very last days, with interest to his expositions, learned much in those years of close contact with him, and took over quite a number of phrases and definitions which he used again and again. He was very well versed in Scripture, quoting the proof passages in the original language from memory, and really everyone had to acknowledge his superiority in this field. Also men from the outside who occasionally visited his lectures were impressed by his ability, and the editions of the Bible used by him showed his indefatigable study. Everyone who has read and studied his *Christliche Dogmatik* will agree with me, and I could mention some striking testimonials. In opposing and criticizing divergent dogmatical views he simply stated: "Das steht aber nicht im Text," "but that is not contained in the text," and thereby settled the matter. And all this he did in a way which offended no one, and quite often he was also able to throw in interesting sidelights and even inject a humorous remark. The same must be said with regard to his teaching of Pastoral Theology. It is true, he did not have such a long experience in the ministry as seems to be the requisite for the successful teaching of this branch of theology, but still, he had charge, during the three years of his ministry, first of a smaller and then of a large congregation. He was a close observer of men and of things and conditions in State and Church. He also received very many inquiries about this point or that point of pastoral practice, and, above all, he taught true Pastoral Theology, pastoral wisdom, on the basis of Scripture. Later on, when

the classes grew larger and when he advanced in age and the faculty was augmented, the teaching of Pastoral Theology was taken over by Professor Mezger, as had been done already in some of the years when Pieper also held the office of President of our church body. In passing, I must say that, looking back on those years when he filled that second office, from 1899 to 1911, I think it might have been wiser not to have burdened him with such an office. It quite frequently necessitated his absence, required considerable correspondence, and led his interest into different channels. For that reason I am almost inclined to say that his nervous breakdown of 1910 — he had also suffered a breakdown in 1894 — might be considered to have been a blessing in disguise. And when he was relieved of this second office, he devoted, as is well known, his time to the writing of his great *Christliche Dogmatik* in three volumes, a monumental standard “zeitloses” (timeless) work which should never be forgotten in our Church.

LECTURE WORK AND EDITORIAL
WORK

I HAVE maintained in season and out of season that in calling an instructor to the Seminary Synod wants him to consider his lecture work the chief and most important task of his position. His second task is to take part in writing for and editing the periodicals entrusted to the Seminary faculty, in those days the *Lutheraner*, *Lehre und Wehre*, and the *Magazin fuer Homiletik und Pastoraltheologie*. The publication of the *Lutheran Witness* had indeed begun as far back as 1882, but the editorship was not assigned to members of the faculty until 1914. The *Theological Quarterly* was begun in 1896, the first issue of which appeared in January, 1897, and in 1921 it was changed into the *Theological Monthly*. In 1930 *Lehre und Wehre*, the *Magazin*, and the *Theological Monthly* were combined into one theological review under the now familiar title *Concordia Theological Monthly*. And since the language in which I worked had up to that time been exclusively the German, it was again but natural that I was called upon to contribute articles and news items chiefly in the German language, a practice which I have followed to the present day. I may add in this connection

that at the time I am penning these reminiscences, in January, 1942, I have been privileged to be the managing editor of the *Lutheraner* for forty years, and I have always considered such editorship as one of my chief tasks. After Pro-



The St. Louis Faculty in 1914

Sitting: G. Mezger, F. Pieper, L. Fuerbringer, F. Bente
 Standing: Th. Graebner, E. A. W. Krauss, E. Pardieck, W. H. T. Dau

fessor Guenther's death in May, 1893, the editorship of the *Lutheraner* passed into the hands of Prof. A. L. Graebner. He had charge of it until September, 1896, when he took over the editorship of the *Theological Quarterly*. At the same time I was called upon to take over the managing editorship of the *Lutheraner*, and had charge of it up to March,

1912, when Prof. E. Pardieck was called to give some lectures, but chiefly as editor of the *Lutheraner* and of a section on "Church News" (Kirchlich-Zeitgeschichtliches) in *Lehre und Wehre*. The faculty thought it best and a saving of time if the department on current events in the Church would be handled by one man, so that the other members of the faculty could more easily concentrate on articles. But Professor Pardieck held this office only a little over a year. He was appointed as Dr. Stoeckhardt's successor in 1913 as head professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, and Pastor Theodore Graebner was called as his successor for the work on the periodicals. He took over the editorship of the *Lutheraner* in August, 1913, furnished "Kirchlich-Zeitgeschichtliches" for *Lehre und Wehre*, and in 1914, according to a resolution of Synod of that year that the faculty appoint a co-editor of the *Lutheran Witness*, became a member of the editorial committee for that church paper. He also gave some lectures in those years, but when in 1917 he decided that he would prefer to do more lecture work and therefore relinquish the managing editorship of the *Lutheraner*, I again either offered or was requested to take over such management, and from July 1, 1917, up to the present time I have performed this work.

I may add that Dr. Pieper was the managing editor of *Lehre und Wehre* when I came to St. Louis in 1893. But after he had been elected President of our Church in 1899, he soon found it necessary to relinquish some of his editorial work, and Professor Bente took over *Lehre und Wehre* and was the chief editor of that well-known and excellent theological review practically up to the time when his health began to fail in 1924. He resigned in 1926. Then Dr. Pieper

again took over the management until the amalgamation of the three monthly publications took place in 1930. Prof. A. L. Graebner was editor of the *Quarterly* up to the time of his sickness and death, 1903–1904. For a short while Professor Bente also took care of this review, but when after the death of Dr. Graebner Pastor W. H. T. Dau was called, he became the editor of the *Quarterly* and of the *Monthly* until he accepted the presidency of Valparaiso University in 1926. For four years Prof. W. Arndt was the managing editor of the *Theological Monthly*, and when the three periodicals were combined, Dr. P. E. Kretzmann became the managing editor of the new *Concordia Theological Monthly*, assisted by an editorial committee consisting of Drs. Pieper, Arndt, and myself. Later on Professor Laetsch was added to this editorial committee, Dr. Engelder took Dr. Pieper's place after the latter's death, and Dr. Arndt became managing editor. The *Magazin fuer Homiletik* had been taken over, after Guenther's demise, by Professor Stoeckhardt, but when in 1896 Professor Mezger was called chiefly for the department of practical theology, teaching Homiletics, Catechetics, and, later on, Pastoral Theology, he soon became the managing editor of the *Magazin*.

A third part of my work in connection with the position at the Seminary consisted in this, that just as the other instructors, I was called upon to serve on committees of our Synod; but this third task I always looked upon in such a way that I would take over only as much as I could well take care of without neglecting my chief work as instructor. I served a number of years, sometimes decades, on such committees, for instance, on the Board for Colored Missions, from 1899 (taking over Dr. Pieper's membership on that

committee) to 1908, when Professor Mezger was appointed to this position. I also served on the Board for Foreign Missions from 1899 to 1920, again taking over Dr. Pieper's membership on that committee after his election as President of Synod. And for the greater part of those years I was also secretary of that board, which seemed to be a somewhat natural solution, because Professor Zucker, my father-in-law, was for many years acting director, and naturally I was always in close contact and frequent correspondence with him.

I might also mention what I considered an important task, namely, the membership on the committee for a new Constitution and By-Laws of Synod, which finally resulted in a standing Committee on Constitutional Matters. This committee was appointed in 1914, the draft for the new Constitution was adopted at the convention of 1917, the By-Laws were adopted at the convention of 1920, and after everything had been submitted to the congregations of Synod, the President finally declared the new Constitution and the new By-Laws in force. Ever since that time quite a number of matters and questions had to be considered by the committee, and I have remained a member of that committee up to this present writing.

For many years I also acted as Corresponding Secretary for Foreign Connections, taking the place of Dr. Stoeckhardt, who very naturally had filled that office. While this secretaryship did not involve much labor and almost everything could be taken care of at the desk and by writing, I can say that I have enjoyed this work, because it brought me into contact not only with our Free Church in Saxony and other States of Germany, with our sister Synod in

Australia and New Zealand, but also with a number of distinguished and interesting men in the State Churches of Germany and even with members of the government. I was also able to make good use of this office in dealings with German publishers interested in our publications, and from



St. Louis Faculty in 1927—1929

Sitting: W. Arndt, Th. Graebner, L. Fuerbringer, F. Pieper, J. H. C. Fritz, J. T. Mueller, M. S. Sommer. Standing: R. Heintze, W. A. Maier, Th. Engelder, W. G. Polack, O. C. A. Boecler, P. E. Kretzmann

year to year I have been sending pertinent literature regarding our church body to men interested in our Church.

In the twenties the President of Synod appointed me a member of the Committee on Hymnology and Liturgics, first with regard to a revision of our English hymnbook and then for the work of compiling a new hymnal, in which undertaking the other constituent synods of the Synodical Conference were represented, so that one hymnal would be used in all the congregations of that body. Having always

taken much interest in the *Kirchenlied*, it was a labor of love for me to participate in the deliberations of the committee, which finished its work on the new hymnal in the twelve years from 1929 to 1941. Much to my regret I had to sever my active connection with this committee in 1931 on account of other work entrusted to me as president of the Seminary, and while I was still considered an honorary member, I was not able to take part in the meetings.

But to return to what I stated at the beginning of this section. I always considered it my first and most important duty to be a teacher and instructor in the Seminary, to devote most of my time and my best efforts to this work. I more than once declined to do other work, for instance, writing, because I felt that my students had the first right to my time and endeavors. And in teaching I tried to present what I had to teach in such a way that the students would be interested in the matter and be encouraged to do the work required of them, not because they were forced to do so or on account of grades, but out of love and interest for the subject matter. In looking back, I know well enough and realize more than ever that my endeavors fell far behind my intentions, and even if I had prepared for my lectures in the best possible way, I often felt when the bell rang that I did not succeed as I wished. This, I think, is the experience of every teacher. But just the presentation of the matter under discussion brought joy to me. This is especially true of Biblical matters, to which I confined my teaching in the later years when large classes, division of classes, and other work connected with the administration of the Seminary made it impossible for me to carry the teach-

ing load which I had carried in younger days. I never forget what Dr. Pieper used to say when this matter was discussed. "Die Synode hat mich hierher gesetzt, um zu lehren," and I think I can say that especially during the last twenty years of his life he realized that even more than before.

In connection with the teaching of the branches allotted



The Faculty in 1926

Sitting, from left to right: Th. Graebner, F. Bente, F. Pieper, L. Fuerbringer, W. H. T. Dau. Standing: M. S. Sommer, W. G. Polack, J. T. Mueller, W. A. Maier, J. H. C. Fritz, W. Arndt, P. E. Kretzmann, O. C. A. Boecler

to me, I might also say something about outlines for the students. When I first began my work, it was the universal custom to dictate such outlines. This had also been the custom in my student days. In the exegetical lectures the students were expected to take notes, and it was only natural that I followed the same method. But in the course of years I found that this method was not very satisfactory. In the first place, it took too much time. The instructor had to bear in mind that the majority of the students did not

write shorthand, and he had to proceed slowly, so that all could get the dictation. Then it occurred very easily, and happened quite frequently, that mistakes in names and other historical matters, also in spelling, were made. When I examined the notebooks, curious things came to light, especially in later years when we had more students who were not thoroughly familiar with the German language, in which fifty and even twenty-five years ago most of our instruction was given. And although I myself had kept the notes taken in my student days and quite frequently consulted them, also in my teaching years, I was afraid that some students would indeed obediently take the dictation, but would not make use of their manuscript very much in later days. For that reason when I had mastered my branches, at least to some extent, I felt that it would be advantageous to have my outlines printed. I wrote such outlines and had them printed privately at Concordia Publishing House. Mimeographed outlines were not used so much in those days in academic training as nowadays, and a printed booklet certainly appeals more to the majority of students. On the basis of these outlines, which, of course, did not contain everything, but were more or less a skeleton, I lectured to the students. The outline quite frequently simply gave the result, but how that result was attained had to be presented in the classroom. I never regretted having followed this method, at least for the past twenty-five or thirty years. Since my chief branches, after Professor Krauss had taken over Propaedeutics, were Old and New Testament Introduction, Theological Hermeneutics, and Liturgics, the outlines for these lectures were made easily accessible to the students. They were still expected to take notes, but it

helped a great deal in successful teaching to have such outlines, especially in the field of Isagogics. At first they were printed only in German, later, at least in part, they were also done into English, and some of my colleagues who at a still later date took over some of these branches have been using them in the classroom. Some of them even found their way, at least for some years, to other institutions, to our seminary in Springfield, to our institution in Buenos Aires, South America, to the seminary of the German Free Church in Berlin, to a seminary of the United Lutheran Church, and to an institution of the United Presbyterians. One of our India missionaries, the sainted Pastor R. W. Goerss, even translated one of these outlines into Tamil, and two China missionaries translated parts of them into the language of that country.

But ever since my beloved teacher and older colleague Dr. Stoeckhardt needed some help in the field of exegesis, and especially when the classes became larger, I also lectured on exegesis, always arranging my courses in such a way that because he covered the most important Biblical books, I took over books or parts of books which had no regular place as yet in the curriculum. Of course, in these courses I always lectured on the basis of the original text, either Hebrew or Greek. The students were expected to prepare carefully and to be able to translate the text, and then I expounded the text in a more elaborate or briefer way, according to the books selected. In the course of time this subject really became my favorite study, after having laid the groundwork in Old and New Testament Introduction and not spending too much time on critical matters connected with these introductory studies. More and more

it became my aim, not only to lead the students to the door of a Biblical book and informing them when and where and by whom and for what purpose a certain book was written and accepted in the canon, but to lead them into the book itself and request them to read it either completely or in major sections, either in the original or in the German



The Faculty in 1931

Sitting, from left to right: W. A. Maier, W. Arndt, Th. Graebner, L. Fuerbringer, J. H. C. Fritz, J. T. Mueller, M. S. Sommer.
 Standing: W. G. Polack, R. Heintze, P. E. Kretzmann, T. Laetsch, Th. Engelder, E. J. Friedrich, Th. Hoyer

or the English translation. I soon found that in order to explain one book, you must necessarily be well acquainted with the other books of the Bible, so that exegesis really may be given in a thoroughgoing way, and I tried to impress upon the students that the first object of all exegesis must be to determine what the words say? It must be *exegesis*, not *eisegesis*. For many years it was my custom that on Saturday mornings, if I happened to be in the city,

no other work would be considered or performed except continued and progressive Bible study. I have written out complete expositions of Biblical books which I never had occasion to interpret in the classroom, for instance, on some of the Minor Prophets, like Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and on some of the New Testament books, like the Epistle



The First Class in the Graduate Department of the Seminary, 1922—1923

Instructors: Sitting: Th. Graebner, E. A. W. Krauss, L. Fuerbringer, M. S. Sommer, W. Arndt. The students, from left to right: R. Schalm, E. Plass, A. O. Meyer, E. Keller, A. Preisinger, L. Rincker

to the Hebrews. The books which I covered in the classroom were several of the Minor Prophets, Joel, Micah, and Zechariah, and especially a course repeatedly given in the graduate school on the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, beginning with Genesis and ending with Malachi, but omitting Isaiah and the Psalms, which were taken

care of by one of my colleagues. In the New Testament I expounded Galatians, First and Second Thessalonians, First and Second Timothy, Titus, and Revelation. But several times also the Sermon on the Mount was treated, the so-called glorification story, the Gospel chapters containing the history of the forty days from Easter to Ascension, harmonizing the different records in the four Gospels, and the pericopes of the church year contained in First and Second Corinthians. It also happened that I repeatedly gave a reading course, either in the Old Testament or in the New Testament, in order to enable the students to read the original text more easily. And if there is any wish I entertain in this respect it is this, that our ministers make it a point to be students of the Bible and not only read the books cursorily, but study individual books more carefully. After all, the Bible is our textbook for life, and if one bears in mind that the Bible contains sixty-six books, a minister has a pretty good and comprehensive task before him.

PROFESSOR AUGUSTUS L. GRAEBNER

MOST INTERESTING and very helpful in my early years at the Seminary were the faculty meetings. My readers will bear in mind that our faculty in those days was a small body, consisting of five members, Professors Pieper, Stoeckhardt, Graebner, Bente, and myself, until in 1896 Professor Mezger joined us. So we were able to sit in a small room, actually one of the living rooms in the old Seminary, around a small table. Professor Pieper always presided. The routine matters to be discussed did not take very much time in those days. Also the administration of the Seminary was rather simple. The student body was small, comparatively speaking, and the many things which now demand attention, the many intramural and extramural activities, did not encroach upon the student body so much in those days as at the present time. The chief things discussed were doctrinal matters, practical questions, requests for opinions, and especially the reading of manuscripts intended for publication in our periodicals or the galley sheets submitted by the Publishing House. And in such discussions I was very much benefited by what the three older men had to say. I remember that a well-known minister of the Western District, at that time in

charge of the old venerable Altenburg congregation in Perry County, Pastor Paul Roesener, once somewhat humorously remarked that Professor Bente and myself must have restrained ourselves very much in those first years, because at synodical meetings, at conferences, and elsewhere we hardly ever had anything to say. I think, if I remember well, that several years passed before we ever asked for the floor except in cases where we were requested to give information. But this was never a restraint on my part. I felt that I was too young to counsel others and to voice opinions in difficult matters. So Professor Bente and I, although he was older and had much more experience than I, kept silence and listened to others. But I personally learned a great deal in those discussions whenever we were called upon to render an opinion or to discuss certain happenings in church life or especially with regard to what should appear in our periodicals. I certainly feel, at this late date, that, generally speaking, our periodicals were better in some respects, at least more carefully edited, in those days than later on, because everything about to appear in print was carefully considered by the whole faculty, and what one did not notice, another found and brought to our attention. Therefore everything printed voiced the considered opinion of the whole body. Of course, in those days such a procedure was possible. The volume of writing was much smaller than nowadays, and we found time to read and discuss everything. Every periodical had its managing editor, and before a manuscript was submitted to the printer, the managing editor read all the important articles to the faculty, or we read them jointly in galley sheets, and just the discussions that arose with regard to contents

and phraseology were so very instructive, and I confess with a grateful heart how much I learned from the three men mentioned above. They were careful, painstaking, studious, excellent theologians, shining lights, great leaders in the Church, each gifted in his own way.

In this connection I must record some reminiscences of one of the three whom I have so far mentioned only in passing, Prof. Augustus L. Graebner, by fifteen years my senior and my respected colleague from 1893 until he was called to his heavenly rest in 1904. And, since no extended biography of Dr. Graebner has appeared, aside from an article on the occasion of his death and the funeral oration of Dr. Pieper, I wish to help in keeping his memory alive.¹⁾

Professor Graebner was the son of one of the Franconian fathers, J. H. Philip Graebner, who was sent to America by Loehe in 1847 as the pastor of the second Franconian colony in Michigan, called Frankentrost, located about seven miles northwest of Frankenmuth, the first colony. There Augustus Leonard was born July 10, 1849, but moved in 1853 with his parents to Roseville, near Detroit, Mich., to which place his father had accepted a call, and in 1859 to St. Charles, Mo., where his father became the successor of Pastor Rudolph Lange. The son was educated in our institutions at Fort Wayne and St. Louis, but while still a student at the Seminary accepted a position as instructor in the Lutheran high school at St. Louis, later called Walthers College. There he taught for several years until he was called to a professorship at the Northwestern College of the Wisconsin Synod at Watertown, Wis. After several years he was transferred from there to the theological seminary of the Wisconsin Synod in Milwaukee and there

taught theology alongside of Professor Adolf Hoenecke. Already in those years he showed his remarkable gift for writing by publishing in the centennial year of the birth of Luther, 1883, a well-written popular biography of the Reformer.²⁾ He also wrote a short biography and appreciation of Johann Sebastian Bach, since he was always interested in church music and hymnology and had a fine understanding of these Christian arts. For several years he was also editor of the *Gemeindeblatt* and co-editor of the *Schulzeitung* of the Wisconsin Synod and even had a part in the management of its printing business. After his father-in-law, Prof. Gottlieb Schaller, had been incapacitated, he was called, in 1887, as his successor to the Seminary in St. Louis and remained in this position until he died, almost in the prime of life, at the age of a little over 55 years.

In St. Louis his remarkable gifts came to a full development, and his writings became more voluminous. He was called to the chair of Church History, his chief subject throughout his years of teaching. But at various times he also taught other branches, notably Hermeneutics, Liturgics, and after the death of Professor Lange in 1892 he took over part of the so-called English professorship, instructing in Dogmatics, because it was considered necessary, and rightly so, to train the students also in the full English terminology of the Christian doctrine. Then he relinquished the teaching of other branches and confined himself to Church History and Doctrinal Theology.

From the very beginning he was particularly interested in the history of the Lutheran Church in America and after considerable private study and research work in Eastern

archives became a pathfinder and published in 1892 the first volume of his presentation of that history.³⁾ This work was recognized as an outstanding contribution in this field, showing the results of his research and his thorough equipment for such work. No one who since that time has written on American Church History has failed to recognize this feature. I may mention that Dr. H. E. Jacobs of the Mount Airy Seminary, writing on "The Lutherans" in the fourth volume of the larger American Church History Series, published not very long after Graebner's work had appeared, gives credit to him in a number of instances. I also heard this opinion expressed by Dr. J. L. Neve, the well-known professor of theology at the Hamma Divinity School in Springfield, Ohio, and author of a brief history of the Lutheran Church in America. The only criticism which the latter scholar offered was this, that for some reason Dr. Graebner failed to give the references and sources from which he had taken his material. President A. R. Wentz of the Gettysburg Seminary, the author of *The Lutheran Church in American History*, in an evaluation of Jacob's work, said about the previous histories of Lutheranism in America: "Most of the narratives were mere repetition of traditions, or large polemical or apologetic pamphlets, or disjointed and colorless arrays of statistics or unconnected facts. One rather careful and original work, built on a comprehensive plan, had just appeared in German, but in addition to the fact that it was in German there was the additional difficulty that it brought the story only to 1820 and was written with a bias."⁴⁾ Dr. Wentz's reference is, of course, to Graebner's History, and whether it was written with a bias may well be disputed. Graebner, of course,

showed again and again in his presentation that the decline of Lutheranism in America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was due to a lack of indoctrination. And just lately another well-known scholar, deeply interested in the history of the Lutheran Church in America, remarked in a private letter to me: "The whole field of colonial Lutheranism has been neglected for a long time. Since the time of Professors Mann and Graebner little has been done. . . . The divergent interpretations of Dr. Mann and Dr. Graebner have been rehearsed again and again with relatively little attempt to re-study the sources. This ought to be done every generation at least, and if Lutherans do not do it, the task will be left undone. Meanwhile Dr. Mann's work on the *Hallesche Nachrichten* and Dr. Graebner's monumental *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche* will remain standard works for many years to come."

Another work which Graebner published in those years was the *Outlines of Doctrinal Theology*, intended chiefly as a textbook for his own classes, but used also outside our own Synod privately and in institutions, even in faraway Southern Africa, and his *Prooftexts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary*, which were first published in the *Theological Quarterly* and later re-published in book form. Aside from these publications he issued a number of smaller pamphlets, which are still valued today. But above all, he was a very studious and excellent contributor to our church periodicals. Quite a number of his articles on doctrinal, historical, and practical matters extended over a number of issues of *Lehre und Wehre*. I call especial attention to the series "The Battle for the *sola gratia*"; "The Oldest Lu-

theran Church in America" (St. Matthew's in New York); "Marriage and Divorce."⁵⁾

He had planned, of course, to write and publish the second volume of his *History of the American Lutheran Church in America*, had indeed made extensive preparations, and with the assistance of a private secretary for a year or so had already collected and transcribed much material. Much to everybody's regret his other work increased to such an extent, and also his health failed, that he was not able to finish the work, although it would have been, one might say, the most important and most interesting volume of this *magnum opus*.

In the ten years in which I was permitted to work at Graebner's side I learned to know him well and to esteem him very highly. I have already stated that he was remarkably gifted, his knowledge extending to many fields, partly theological, but also to the sciences and arts. And he had a wonderful gift to impart such knowledge to others and to speak about such matters, even if his knowledge of them was not so thorough; no one can be a specialist in every field. He was always bent on acquiring new knowledge, and in theology he was a supreme master. In the historical field he very often went back to the sources, even if that implied much work, and sometimes in his classes he had his students follow him and take part in his researches. From the very first he was an ardent champion of the true Biblical Lutheran truth in the doctrines of predestination and conversion. While still at the seminary in Milwaukee, he examined an opinion published by the faculty of the University in Rostock, Germany, and analyzed and criticized that opinion very thoroughly,⁶⁾ and he continued to

proclaim and defend these cardinal doctrines to the very last. He also had a special gift for revising manuscripts and assisting authors. I very well remember how he assisted me as a young editorial writer for the *Lutheraner* more than once in finding the adequate expression, and he was always kind enough to do this whenever I approached him. I also remember how he revised the manuscript of a textbook of geography for our schools; and when our Publishing House for a number of years published an English family journal, the *Concordia Magazine*, he not only supervised this publication, but after the editor had been called to another charge and the publication suffered from lack of contributors, he himself wrote and prepared quite a number of articles. And all these things he undertook without looking for remuneration. I could cite a number of instances to prove this statement and show his modesty, his self-denial, and his gentleness. Also in this respect he was an example to others. Even when criticized, seemingly with reason or clearly without reason, he remained courteous and gentle. I remember that on one occasion some younger ministers had criticized his translation of the Catechism on account of what they called "Germanisms." But he showed that the very phrases impugned were used in the Scotch Presbyterian Catechism famous for its English.

Outwardly he was an imposing figure. He was very careful about his appearance. His hair was always combed in the same way, his beard trimmed in the same way; although his clothing was not at all costly, he presented a distinguished appearance and quite frequently attracted attention of outsiders, who then inquired for particulars about that remarkable man. His physiognomy was, as

everyone who knew him perceived, rather dark, an inheritance from his father and his mother, and I remember that at one time when we both attended a conference at Lake Creek, Mo., and were entertained by an intelligent farmer living several miles from the church, we rode on horseback; and when I saw him sitting on the horse, erect and never losing his composure, he was the picture, I might say, of a Spanish grandee, and I still have him as such in my mind's eye.

In his classroom and also in his writings he called attention to what he had discovered in his research work, and the phrase which he used quite frequently still sounds, as it were, in my ears: "I have before me the original." He had an extended correspondence with men inside and outside our Church, and I still have in my files some evidences of his very accurate and elaborate answers to requests for information. And more than once I felt that he overtasked his body and mind, keeping late hours and attending also to matters which might have been done by someone else, as, for instance, some care for, and supervision of, the commissary department of our institution. But when I remonstrated with him on several occasions and asked him not to overdo things, he usually remarked that he felt much better if he stayed up late at night and got rid of some work or writing. He made use of practically every minute at his command, even reading quite often when walking on the street, and on one occasion he thereby suffered an injury. At conferences and synodical conventions he was quite often a very able and instructive essayist (and the essays that have been printed in the synodical reports should certainly not be overlooked). Once when we were traveling together

with a number of pastors after having attended a conference or a convention, I missed him from the coach in which we were riding. I looked for him and found him at last in the little smoking room of another car, not reading, but engaged in some mental work; and when I inquired, he told me that he was repeating the words of a dictionary of another language. I still must have in my files comments from others giving evidence of his manifold knowledge in his writings and conversation. I recall that one of the professors at our colleges, himself a very learned and versatile man, wrote me with respect to one of Graebner's reviews, "O tanta eruditio!" "O that great learning!" My friend Pastor Herman Speckhard in Saginaw, Mich., told me that once he had tried to find out something about Graebner's knowledge of the Chinese dynasties, of which Speckhard himself had made a study; and he was surprised how Graebner on the spur of the moment could recount them. Charles Nagel, the distinguished citizen and attorney of St. Louis, who in President Taft's cabinet held the portfolio of Secretary of Commerce and was known throughout our country and also in foreign countries, himself a very clearheaded thinker in Americanism and matters politic, told me of an incident many years after it had occurred. The political boss of the city at that time had built reduction works not far from our Seminary, and we together with many citizens suffered from the nauseating smell. Graebner was requested by our Board of Control to appear before the city authorities, and Nagel at that time was the president of the city council. Graebner, so Nagel told me, spoke at some length—and I can well picture him there in my mind's eye—presenting our position and discussing American principles and

the difference between Church and State, and Nagel listened with the greatest attention and said that he had never heard such a clear and correct presentation.

Thus Graebner continued up to September, 1903, when his twenty-fifth anniversary as theological professor was observed at the Seminary and when the faculty of the Norwegian Luther Seminary in Hamline, a suburb of St. Paul, Minn., conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was ill at that time, but, having an engagement, he traveled on the following day to assist some minister in his congregation. But he was not able to take up his lecture work after his return. Over a year he suffered from an illness which the doctors at first failed to diagnose. But while it may have been sheer exhaustion at first, complications gradually set in. He bore his cross with a truly Christian fortitude, as we, the younger members of the faculty, well knew. And after this lingering illness he passed to his reward December 7, 1904. The last audible words uttered by him repeatedly were: "Gott, mein Heiland," "God, my Savior."

As stated above, he was married to Anna Schaller, and most of his sons and sons-in-law, and some of his grandsons, have entered the service of the Church and are well known among us.

THE FOUNDERS OF THE SEMINARY

IT WAS very appropriate that when our new Seminary was erected, historic names were given to the different buildings in order to continue the names of former teachers of our institution; and separated from the other dormitories, opposite to the main building, we find the so-called Founders' Hall, a stately structure of three units, and these units bear the names of the three founders of our institution in 1839 in the log cabin in Perry County, Mo. This famous little building was located about a half mile from the present church and school in Altenburg and is now being preserved on that church property and serving as a little museum. While the announcement of the opening of the college, which was dated August 13, 1839, and appeared in the *Anzeiger des Westens* of St. Louis, bore the names of Pastor C. F. W. Walther and the three candidates Theodore Julius Brohm, J. Frederick Buenger, and Ottomar Fuerbringer, these last three were really the promoters of the idea, to which Walther, their mutual friend, readily consented. These candidates had, so to speak, nothing to do, while Walther was in charge of a small congregation of emigrants in Dresden, about a mile from the location of the first college.

The outstanding man of the three, as far as initiative and manual labor was concerned, was Buenger, the oldest

brother of my mother. He cut down trees that were needed for the cabin and dug the well. There is an apocryphal story which according to the Italian proverb "*Si non e vero, e ben trovato*," though not true, yet is well invented. According to this story, Buenger at once went ahead and felled the trees and succeeded very well. Brohm tried to follow his example, but succeeded only moderately well. But my father, who was always philosophically inclined, sat down on the first tree that had been felled and philosophized about the instability and vanity of all earthly things.

Buenger should also be remembered because at this writing more than sixty years since his death have passed and there is hardly anyone living who knew him personally, except perhaps a few aged members of St. Louis churches. While an excellent biography of him was written by his brother-in-law, Dr. C. F. W. Walther, and published first in the *Lutheraner* and later in book form, the book has long been out of print, and Buenger's life is not generally known. That biography has an independent value because the first chapters clearly indicate that Walther wrote it at the same time as a sort of *apologia pro vita mea*, an apology of his early life, stating in detail the reasons for the Saxon emigration. Buenger was descended, as mentioned in another connection, from an old family of ministers reaching back to the Reformation century and was born January 2, 1810, in Etzdorf, Saxony, where his father was pastor. He was educated at one of the famous princes' colleges, "Fuerstenschulen," in Saxony, where he acquired his excellent knowledge of the Latin language, which enabled him to correspond with his friends in that language, and from 1829 to 1833 he studied at the university in Leipzig, where he

soon joined that little band of pious students. After having finished his studies, he became a private tutor, joined the adherents of Pastor Stephan, and came to this country not by way of New Orleans, but via New York.

After having assisted in founding the college and instructing the few students for some time — an extended history of these early days is beyond the scope of this chapter — he was the first one of the three candidates to leave Perry County, having in 1841 accepted a call as schoolteacher of Trinity Church in St. Louis and later on becoming the associate of Walther in the so-called Immanuel District. There he labored intensively and faithfully until his death on January 23, 1882, highly revered not only by the Lutherans in general and by his parishioners in particular, but also by many outsiders.

Buenger was an aggressive, outspoken character, who joined a movement with body and soul when he was convinced that it was the right thing to do, and he therefore very soon made up his mind to follow the leader of the emigrants to this country. When my mother, who had a good position in Germany and did not relish the idea of leaving her home country, said to him, "Frederick, must we really leave our beautiful country and emigrate to the wilds of America and live among Indians?" he gave her an answer that was typical of him. He said to her: "Well, if you want to go down with this country like Sodom and Gomorrah, then stay here." His aggressiveness and initiative was apparent throughout his life. He was a man to start things, and his missionary activities played a prominent part in his life. In the days when he was the teacher of Trinity Church in St. Louis he also started instructing children of

Lutheran families in St. Louis County, leaving the city Friday afternoon and remaining over Saturday and Sunday. The congregation and its school still exist on the so-called Olive Road. After I had come to St. Louis as instructor at the Seminary and preached occasionally in vacant congregations in the neighborhood, in Alton, Ill., in Calhoun County, Ill., and other places, I quite often found out that Buenger had been the first one to look after the spiritual welfare of fellow Lutherans, but unfortunately his work sometimes could not be continued on account of lack of ministers. At one time he started a Negro mission in the city and even a mission among the Chinese, but also these could not be continued because the necessary men were not available. However, two other institutions which he started still exist and are in a flourishing condition. He was the founder of the first orphans' home in our Synod, located at Des Peres, St. Louis County, and also the founder of the Lutheran Hospital here in the city. But above all, he ministered to his congregation, and although I never heard him preach, I think from what I was told that Walther was right in calling him the Valerius Herberger in the American Lutheran Church because of his sincerity and devoutness. On account of his peculiar gifts he was in 1863 elected President of the Western District, at that time the largest District of our Synod, served in this position for a number of years, and in this way became the father and founder of congregations in distant States and Territories. I can mention only Colorado and Texas, and California on the Pacific Coast, which in those days belonged to the Western District. But to recount this activity would require a special

chapter. I could record a number of interesting items, but will mention just one.

Shortly after the Civil War his Immanuel Congregation suffered the loss of its church by fire and in those distressing days probably was somewhat hesitant to build a new church at once. But Buenger proceeded in his usual way. He visited his people, looked around in their homes, gathered the members of the family, asked for a Bible, and read to them the passage from Haggai, where we are told that the Jews who had returned from the Babylonian exile were reluctant to build the second temple and said, "The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built." And then the Prophet said in the name of the Lord, "Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste?" And just as Haggai succeeded in arousing the interest of the Jewish people, so Buenger accomplished the erection of a new church, and it is truly remarkable that in those years after the Civil War a large church was built that cost over \$105,000, a procedure typical of the man.

I saw Buenger only once, when he attended the convention of our Synod at Fort Wayne in 1881. Being informed that I was studying at the college, he asked for me. And I still have in my mind's eye that tall, powerful personage speaking to me and exhorting me to continue faithfully in my studies and then come to St. Louis and often visit him in his home. But half a year before I entered the Seminary, he passed away.

Walther records in his biography a peculiar incident of Buenger's last sickness. Throughout his life Buenger had a clear understanding of the Pope as the Antichrist, and he also instructed his people accordingly. I was told that very,

very often, in season and out of season, he referred in his sermons to the Antichrist and his pernicious doctrine. Even when I met him in Fort Wayne, he left a day or two before Synod closed because he had heard that an orphan would be taken to a Catholic orphanage if the Lutherans would not take care of the child, and being president of the orphanage at Des Peres, he returned to St. Louis in order to arrange the matter, saying to me when he took leave that he must return, "for I cannot permit the Antichrist to devour the child." ("Ich kann das arme Kind doch nicht vom Antichristen verschlucken lassen.") Now, when Walther visited him in his last sickness, Buenger told him of a dream, in which the devil had appeared and told him he could not have a blessed end if he would not acknowledge that he said too many and too hard things against the Pope. But Buenger answered that while he knew he was a poor sinner and was heartily sorry for his many sins, he could not admit that he had used too strong language against the Pope; and then the devil departed.¹⁾

When the news of Buenger's death reached Fort Wayne, I remember very well that Prof. R. A. Bischoff, at that time director of the institution, assembled the students and spoke to them about Buenger and his work. It was very natural for him to do so, because, if I am not much mistaken, Bischoff hailed from Immanuel Church. He also read to us an account of the funeral, which at that time was said to be one of the largest funerals ever held in St. Louis. Not only Lutherans attended, but men and women from all walks of life to whom Buenger had been a friend and counselor and especially a helper when they were in financial straits. He was generous almost to a fault, I might say, and, in fact,

gave away much of his salary, which he himself and his family really needed. Some time later I heard that also quite a number of Catholics from "Kerry Patch," whom he had befriended, attended the service, and I was also told that quite often Catholics, when he entered a streetcar, paid his fare because they took him for a Catholic priest. He was always clad in a long black coat, with a white neckcloth ("Halsbinde").

Twelve years after his death his old congregation celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its beginning as a district of the mother church, and since I happened to be the nephew of Buenger, I was requested to preach on that festival occasion. At first I declined, because I felt that I could not do justice to the occasion as a preacher, but Buenger's successor, Pastor G. Wangerin, and the elders insisted that a relative of Buenger should preach and told me that they did not expect anything extraordinary, but simply wanted to hear the Word of God proclaimed on that occasion. Naturally I referred in my sermon to the outstanding work of their former pastor, who had been in charge of their congregation for thirty-eight years, and after the service more than one of the members of the church spoke to me about Buenger, and to this day I have a very vivid impression of what he meant to his people. In that year, 1894, and some time following it, I was privileged temporarily to be an assistant to Pastor Wangerin, since Dr. Pieper, the regular assistant, had suffered a nervous breakdown, and when I met members of that church, they began to speak about that great lover of people, that indefatigable missionary, that faithful pastor, John Frederick Buenger.

Theodore Julius Brohm was born September 12, 1808, in

Saxony as the son of a minister, and from 1827 to 1832 he studied at the University of Leipzig, soon joining the little circle of believing students. He was an intimate friend of one of the candidates by the name of Kuehn, although somewhat younger than he. Kuehn died while minister in Saxony, but his influence on these students and candidates was very strong and is testified to by Walther in his biography of Buenger and also by letters which Kuehn wrote to my father. After finishing his studies at the university, Brohm remained in Leipzig and studied privately, reading the Hebrew and the Greek Testament every day and learning every morning a Hebrew Psalm by heart or at least memorizing Hebrew words with which he was not as yet familiar. He had written those words on a little sheet of paper, a forerunner, so to speak, of William Rainey Harper's *Hebrew Vocabularies*. He was, as far as I know, the only one among the emigrating ministers and candidates who had learned and even taught English already in Germany, and after he had come to Perry County, he attended a public school until the college was opened in order to learn the language still better. He was also the first one among the fathers of our Church to preach an English sermon. This fact is recorded in the private diary of Pastor G. H. Loeber in Altenburg. Loeber wrote under date of January 1, 1843: "Between the two services (that is, the forenoon and afternoon service in Altenburg) the first English sermon was preached by Candidate Brohm in our still poor 'Kirchenlokal' before a great number of farmers and their families who had assembled. May God bless this! Some grateful and moving confessions followed. Brohm was also requested to preach in the Presbyterian church and

after the service was invited by the elders of that church to do so." Of the founders of the college in the log cabin, Brohm remained with the institution for the longest period, but in 1843 he was called to New York as pastor of Trinity Church, still in existence, although located in a section now inhabited almost exclusively by Jews. He had married the relict of an African missionary, von Wurmb, of whom I know but very little. She had emigrated with the Saxons, lived in the immediate neighborhood of the log cabin, and her three children were among the first students in the college, although still very young: Marie, who later on married Pastor J. F. Biltz, one of the first graduates of the institution; Theobald, who became a well-known druggist in St. Louis; and Sarah, who married Joachim Henry Birkner of New York. Sarah, when attending school in the college building, was only five years old.

In 1858 Brohm was called to St. Louis as the first resident pastor of the Southern, or Concordia, District of the old St. Louis mother church, the present Holy Cross Church. He was not only a faithful pastor, as I repeatedly heard older members of the congregation say, but also in the following decade gave some exegetical lectures on the Old Testament at the Seminary, at a time when the instructors needed some outside help; and one of the class of 1864, K. L. Moll, told me more than once that Brohm's favorite study, also for these lectures, were the Psalms. He also wrote for our periodicals, was an essayist at District conventions, and his essay on "Usury" contained in the report of the General Convention of 1869 was considered a gem; besides, he was especially active in selecting and publishing the more popular writings of Luther in our first edition of

Luther's works, the so-called *Luthers Volksbibliothek*. When seventy years of age, in 1878, he resigned from the ministry on account of physical weakness and lived with his son Theodore, sometime professor at the Northwestern College in Watertown, Wis., later on in our Teachers' College in Addison, Ill., and president of that institution, and finally instructor at our Oakland Concordia. Pastor Brohm went to his eternal reward September 24, 1881, and with his wife is buried in the cemetery near Addison, what is now called Bensenville, the church, the school, and the parsonage being about two miles distant from the former teachers' college.

I saw Brohm only once, when as Vice-President of our Synod and representative of the President he attended the convention of the Northern, or Michigan, District in Detroit in 1871. Being throughout his life a quiet, retiring man, I cannot record anything of that visit, but since I was the son of his old-time friend and colleague, he kindly shook hands with me and said a few encouraging words, which unfortunately I have forgotten. I was only seven years of age at that time, and my journey to Detroit, one hundred miles from Frankenmuth, was my first trip on a railroad, and this experience crowded out everything else. I felt like a traveler going nowadays to New Zealand or Australia. But later I learned that Brohm was a good, solid theologian. Those who knew his son, Dr. Theodore Brohm, will have found the traits of his father in him. Three of his grandsons are in the ministry: Director Theodore Brohm of our Oakland College, President Arthur Brohm of the California and Nevada District, and Pastor Victor Brohm, in charge of a congregation of the Wisconsin Synod in Milwaukee.

A UNIQUE SCHOLAR

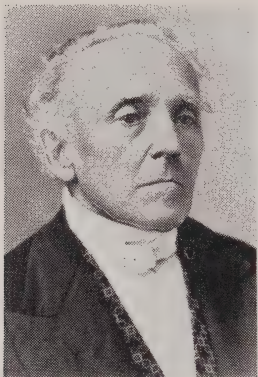
IT is perhaps natural that in these reminiscences I return again and again to events and happenings in the history of our Seminary which are more or less unfamiliar to the present generation. And I feel that in this connection I also should say a few words about a unique character among the teachers in our institution: Professor Gustave Seyffarth. I did not know him personally, but I remember very well what my father and others told me about him. He taught only a comparatively short time at our Seminary. I have also read his biography published in German and English by Karl Knortz of Evansville, Ind., in his days a well-known schoolman and writer, whom I knew and with whom I also had some correspondence, although his views were entirely different from those of Seyffarth and our Church in general.¹⁾ I also have in my library an interesting brochure about Seyffarth by the well-known Egyptologist and writer of Egyptian romances George Ebers, a successor of Seyffarth at the University of Leipzig and well remembered by archaeologists on account of the *Papyrus Ebers*, the oldest medical treatise in the world. Ebers published the brochure shortly after Seyffarth's death and presented a copy of it to Knortz, who, knowing of my interest in this man, gave it to me.²⁾

But who was Seyffarth? Seyffarth was born July 13, 1796, in a Lutheran parsonage in Saxony, was a confessional Lutheran, and remained in connection with our Church up to his end. He was a remarkably gifted man, also a strong character. I would characterize him with the German term "knorrig" (gnarled); but he was also rather peculiar in more than one way, somewhat a "Sonderling." This may be accounted for partly by the fact that he was never married. He received his education in the usual way at one of the far-famed *Gymnasia*, or "Fuerstenschulen," princes' colleges, of Saxony, and at the Leipzig University, and was very diligent even in his student days, spending twelve to sixteen hours every day at his desk. Possessing a truly insatiable thirst for knowledge, he studied not only theology, philology, and philosophy, but also history, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, physics, geology, botany, mineralogy, music, and painting. At the age of twenty-six he was already an authority in Oriental languages, and he made a special study of Egyptology and hieroglyphics. His name is well established in the history of scientific research. He was able to travel for two years, visited museums in Italy, France, Holland, and England, and especially tried to decipher the hieroglyphics. He evolved a complete system of such deciphering and maintained the correctness of his system to his end; and when in 1881 the obelisk from Egypt, the "Needle of Cleopatra," was re-erected in New York Central Park, where it is still to be seen, he was, as far as I know, the first one in America to offer a translation of the hieroglyphics inscribed on that monumental column. He

delivered a lecture on the obelisk, closing it with the words from Luther's battle hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God":

Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn
Und kein'n Dank dazu haben.

But he was a very outspoken and emphatic opponent of the French scholar Champollion, also engaged in Egyptology; and although I am not able to voice a definite opinion in



Prof. Gustave Seyffarth

this matter, because I do not read hieroglyphics, I must say that Seyffarth's system, although for a time followed by some scholars, was finally abandoned, and Champollion's system is considered the correct explanation of hieroglyphics. This I have read in writings of Brugsch-Pascha and Ebers, and it was also affirmed by the well-known Egyptologist and founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, John Henry Breasted.

At an early age Seyffarth decided to pursue an academic career, and he was very soon called as *professor extraordinarius* to his alma mater in Leipzig. But these were just the last years of Rationalism, and Seyffarth was scoffed at and humiliated on account of his conservative doctrinal standpoint by men of influence and power, particularly by members of the Masonic order, and he saw very clearly that a career for him in Germany would be out of the question. Whether he had already become acquainted with the fa-

thers of our Synod in his student days I do not know, but he knew of the Missouri Synod and especially of Walther, who had met him on the occasion of his visit in Germany in 1851. Seyffarth at that time told Walther and Wyneken that he would soon come to America, and when he realized that the doors were closed to him in Europe, he decided to leave, and, being a man of independent means, offered his services to Walther, the president of our institution at that time, and thereby to our Synod. Walther was very glad to enlist the services of such an outstanding scholar and confessional Lutheran, invited him to come to St. Louis and to teach at our Seminary, which at that time was combined with the college department, or *Gymnasium*, his call specifying historical and archaeological branches. He did not remain very long in St. Louis — only three years, from 1856 to 1859. He had, as already intimated, some decided peculiarities, and although I have no evidence to that effect, I am pretty well convinced that he did not fit very well into American conditions in general and into our own conditions in particular. He also voiced his peculiar notions and, just to mention one thing, was quite outspoken in his view that the students should quit drinking coffee and instead be given "Wassersuppe." But he also had other reasons for severing his connection with St. Louis. He longed for a city in which scientific research work was possible and scientific museums and libraries were available, and these he did not find in St. Louis, although he was one of the founders of the Academy of Science in our city in 1856 and was a highly honored member of that society, which still exists and owns some remarkable collections. This information I have from a physician with considerable scientific background, who

once told me of the early days of that Academy and of Seyffarth's interest and endeavors in its behalf; and not many years ago I picked up a copy of Vol. 1, No. 3, of the *Transactions of the Society* and found an interesting article on "An Astronomical Inscription Concerning the Year 1722 B. C., Explained by G. Seyffarth, A. M., Ph. D., D. D., Prof. in the Concordia College, St. Louis, Mo." I also think that even in those days there was some difference of opinion between Walther and Seyffarth with regard to the slavery matter, and it is a fact that when this question became very acute, Seyffarth opposed Walther and wrote against what Walther had written in our periodicals and published those articles in a New York paper. I still have these articles in my collection. A member of our Church wrote a reply, the tone of which did not appeal to all our members.³⁾

But I am happy that I can also state that this difficulty was perfectly overcome in later years after the slavery matter had been settled, and in order to give a clear picture, I must say the following: Walther never was a pro-slavery man; on the contrary, there is very clear evidence to this day that he abhorred the atrocities committed in the South by slaveholders. But he was opposed to the view, very prevalent in those rather critical days of the Civil War, that slavery was in itself unscriptural. Walther maintained that the Christian religion does not change or eliminate the natural differences among mankind and that St. Paul in his letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, and St. Peter in his First Epistle teach that slavery in itself is not a sin against God's Word.⁴⁾ I may also refer to the biography of the Norwegian theologian Lauritz Larsen, written by his daughter, Karen Larsen, which covers this matter to some extent.

But, as stated above, Seyffarth and Walther in later life renewed their friendship. They corresponded with each other, and I heard from Walther's own lips that he was very happy over this trend of affairs. Seyffarth gave a definite proof of this friendship in two respects. He lived a very retired life of a scholar in New York for more than twenty-five years, but was connected with a church which later turned to the Missouri Synod — his pastor and confessor was Pastor H. Hebler. And when his end was approaching — he died November 17, 1885 — he made two stipulations in his last will and testament: he left one thousand dollars to Concordia Seminary, the returns of which were to be devoted to the education of indigent students, and he entrusted his many notes and manuscript collections to our Seminary library, where they are available to anyone who is particularly interested in Egyptology, chronology, and kindred archaeological matters. Walther wrote a very sympathetic and appreciative obituary of Seyffarth in the *Lutheraner* of December 1, 1885.

In the course of years, from 1818 to 1882, Seyffarth produced a number of books and many articles in scientific journals, the list of which writings fills not less than thirteen pages in his biography. He was even interested in mechanics and constructed — on paper — an airship. He was indeed a unique scholar, and George Ebers, a very different scholar, recognized his scholarship. But, above all, he was a Christian; and under his picture, reproduced in his biography, I find in his own handwriting that beautiful saying, which gives evidence of his childlike faith, from Tiedge's *Urania*: "O der Weisheit, die den Glauben aermmer und doch nicht selig macht!" Oh, that science (falsely so called) which impoverishes the faith and does not save!

THE SEMINARY IN THE CIVIL WAR

THIS TOPIC cannot, of course, be classified with personal reminiscences, since I had not been born when the chief events of the Civil War took place. I simply record what I have heard of this matter from persons who were living in those days and what I was able to find out by personal investigation and correspondence. The reason why I include such a chapter is a two-fold one. Since I have been connected with the Seminary so long, I have naturally always been much interested in its history and in what happened or did not happen to it in critical years. And, in the second place, I took a special interest just in this particular matter, since wrong reports have gone out not only by word of mouth and in private communications, but also in historical works. In the history of the Lutheran Church in America, written in German by Prof. Geo. J. Fritschel of the Wartburg Seminary of the Iowa Synod, now the American Lutheran Church, a book based upon the English history of the Lutheran Church by Prof. H. E. Jacobs of the Mount Airy Seminary of the United Lutheran Church, I found the statement that in the days of the Civil War, when it was still uncertain on which side, the Northern or the Southern, the State of Missouri would

be, the flag of the Secession waved over the Seminary until the energetic general of the Northern Army directed his cannon upon the building.¹⁾ And this statement was repeated in a much more important work, in the very comprehensive and scholarly *Morphologie des Luthertums*, written by the well-known professor of theology in Erlangen Werner Elert, with these words: "The president of the Missouri Synod, Walther, at that time espoused the cause of the Southern States. Before the State of Missouri definitely took a stand, the flag of the secessionists waved on the theological seminary in St. Louis, and not before the cannon of the Northern Army were directed against it, was it pulled down."²⁾

Now, I have always regarded that story, which I had heard a number of times, as apocryphal, because I knew to some extent Walther's standpoint, which was shared by other members of our Church; and it is evident from Walther's letters that Walther was very careful not to mix Church and State, political matters and spiritual matters.³⁾ But when I read the statement quoted above in historical volumes, I thought it worth while to investigate the matter more fully and try to get at the bottom of the story. I first applied to Professor Fritschel, asking him to give me the source of his statement. He wrote me very courteously that he had never seen or read such a statement in print, but had heard it in the home of his parents when a boy, and he also mentioned a pamphlet and the oral tradition which he had heard from a Pastor Bunge, a member of the Iowa Synod. This information by Professor Fritschel was, of course, not sufficient evidence and could not establish the fact. Then

I addressed men in our own Church who had always taken an interest in the history of our Synod in general and of our institution in particular, whether they could give me any definite information. I mention Pastor William Koepchen of New York and Prof. Otto Hattstaedt of Milwaukee, but they stoutly maintained that there was absolutely no proof for such statements regarding the secessionist flag and the cannon directed against the Seminary. Pastor Koepchen stated expressly on the basis of his investigations — and he was very much interested in such matters — that the Seminary flew the Union Flag. But, of course, these two men also could not speak authoritatively, because they had no recollections of their own with regard to the Civil War.

But at that time there were still some men living who had been students in the Seminary in those years, and I requested definite information from them. One of them was Pastor Henry Koch, sometime minister in Grand Rapids, Mich., and later in Bergholz, near Buffalo, N. Y. He stated very definitely that such a thing never occurred. He even remarked that most of the students came from Northern States and naturally were on the side of the Northern party, that one of the prominent ministers in St. Louis, living close to the Seminary, took the same position and that they certainly would have protested against the raising of the Southern flag. He also mentioned the fact that the students formed half a company in order to protect the city during a few critical weeks. A Norwegian student, Reque, who had already seen military service, was the captain, and one of our own well-known men, August Crull, for many years professor at our college in Fort Wayne, was lieutenant.

Both of these men, also Pastor Koch — and I could mention another Norwegian, Torgersen, and another one of our ministers, Stock, in this connection — were graduated in 1865 and therefore were students in the Seminary at least from 1862 up to the time of their graduation. The idea of organizing a company originated in this way: The city was indeed at one time threatened by the Southern general Price, well known in the history of the Civil War, and the students felt that they should be ready to defend the city that had been their home; informing the mayor of the city, who received their offer very gratefully, they began to drill. They continued their studies. The lectures were dropped only for a few weeks. Professor Walther had told them that they were at liberty to leave St. Louis, but they decided to stay. They attended their lectures, they drilled every day for two hours, they reported to the mayor's office regularly, and Lieutenant Crull was their messenger until the danger had passed. I have all the letters bearing on the subject and more documents in my files. They will be turned over for future reference to the Concordia Historical Institute.

But there is also evidence from Walther's writings in those days, especially in his letters. Walther in his personal convictions indeed sympathized with the Southern States. He had two reasons. In the first place, he and many of the fathers of our Church were in favor of States' rights. They were Democrats, having suffered so much from an autocratic government in Europe. And they thought the matter of States' rights to be the correct position in our country. In the second place, while not favoring slavery, Walther took the position that slavery in itself was not against the

Word of God (compare the chapter on Professor Seyffarth), and he was horrified to read in so many church papers misinterpretations of the Bible, especially of St. Paul's and St. Peter's letters. But he never brought his political convictions to bear on the Church and church conditions. He was so careful in that respect that we men of a much later date must admire the clean separation of Church and State on the part of our fathers. And since I mention this fact, I must also state that Walther in a letter addressed to Pastor J. C. W. Lindemann of Cleveland, Ohio, on April 27, 1861, voiced a very definite opinion.⁴⁾ Lindemann evidently had asked Dr. Walther for his opinion on the duty of Christians in times of war, and Walther wrote him that it was the duty of all Lutherans in the North to serve in the Northern Army if they were drafted, even though they might have to kill their fellow Lutherans in the South. On May 10 Dr. Walther wrote to his wife, whom he had sent to the country on account of the danger of battle, that the fighting had begun, but far from the Seminary; and in a postscript he tells of the victory of the Northern Army. By May 28 conditions had improved to such an extent that Dr. Walther permitted his wife to return to the city.⁵⁾ In a most impressive sermon on Ezek. 22:28-30, delivered in the year 1861 on the Day of Penitence and Prayer, Walther again and again speaks of our "dear Government" (*liebe Obrigkeit*), in the introduction to the sermon at least five times, and praises the Government for exhorting all the people of his country to observe a day of penitence, prayer, and fasting.⁶⁾

How conscientious Walther and others were in such matters is also clear from his position and correspondence

with regard to a loyalty oath that was required of ministers in the year 1865. For more information on this matter see Walther's letters.

Of course, it was known in the city to some extent that Walther's sympathies were on the side of the Southern States, and it seems that at one time some fanatics had intended to go out to the Seminary and perhaps take some action. But I have manuscript evidence that they were told by the authorities not to undertake such a foolish thing, because there was no reason for it.

But how did the story originate that cannon were directed against the Seminary? No one seems to know. But there is a possibility. Many years ago I was told that a certain location in South St. Louis had been the camping ground of the Southern soldiers. That location in my student days — and old residents may still remember the name — was called "Kaisers Huegel," Kaiser's hill, located on the bluffs of the Mississippi River not far from the Seminary. I can well imagine that the Northern soldiers, being on their guard against General Price and his men, would place their cannon in such a way that it appeared as if they were directed toward the Seminary, and in this way the story may have arisen. But this is only a possibility, for which I cannot vouch. However, from what I have been told about the marching of the armies, it may really offer a solution to this matter.

Naturally, the years of the Civil War were distressing years also for our churches throughout Synod and for our institutions. At that time, in 1861, the separation of the college department from the Seminary took place. The col-

lege was moved to Fort Wayne, and the students of the practical seminary, up to that time located in Fort Wayne, were to be transferred to St. Louis, but on account of the war such transfer was not at once accomplished. Also sermons, articles in the *Lutheraner*, in *Lehre und Wehre*, and in private correspondence confirm the fact that these were distressing days. Pastor Koch, whom I mentioned above, in one of his letters calls attention to another item. He was letter carrier for the students in those days, and one morning when he was delivering the mail, someone told him that Lincoln had been assassinated. He at once went to Dr. Walther and informed him of this fact. Dr. Walther was shocked, expressed his great sorrow, did not in the least consider this fate a punishment for Lincoln, but sent Koch at once to the city — the Seminary in those days was located on the outskirts, which were sparsely settled — to find out about the truth of his piece of news. And when it was confirmed in the city and Koch brought the message to Walther, the flag at once was raised at half-mast.

May the foregoing account help to correct an historical error and prevent such false information from being propagated.

What I have said may also be applied to a booklet that appeared in 1930 under the title: *Erinnerungen an Professor C. F. W. Walther und seine Zeit*, Reminiscences of Prof. C. F. W. Walther and His Times, by J. L. Gruber, printed by his children and prefaced and annotated by Prof. Geo. J. Fritschel. Gruber at one time was a teacher in one of our day schools in St. Louis, but later left our Church, first becoming teacher in a congregation of the

Wisconsin Synod in Oshkosh and still later, when a split occurred on account of the Predestination Controversy, he joined the Ohio Synod. But these reminiscences contain so many inaccuracies, wrong judgments, and partisan views that I have written in my copy of the booklet the words which Melanchthon applied to the *Regensburg Interim* of 1541:

Emendare strophas hujus fraudesque libelli
Non multae possunt, una litura potest.

In German: "Willst du den Trug und die Maengel des Buches *verbessern*, so brauchst du wenige Muehe, *ein* Strich durch das Ganze genuegt."

DR. EDWARD PREUSS

IN these reminiscences which cover so long a life not only pleasant matters, but also regrettable incidents should be recorded. One of these regrettable incidents refers to the life and activities of Dr. Edward Preuss; and since this happened many years ago and only very few are living who know the exact circumstances and since it also pertains to an incident in the history of our Seminary, I think that I should at least briefly record it.

Dr. Preuss was for several years a member of our Seminary faculty, and although he had for many years been an outstanding Lutheran theologian, he turned Roman Catholic and spent the last thirty years in the service of the Catholic Church. How did this happen? What is the story of his life?

Dr. Preuss was born July 10, 1834, in Germany, and died July 17, 1904, in St. Louis. He was an exceptionally gifted man, very versatile, at home in many fields of learning, and an outstanding teacher. I have it on the authority of men like Dr. E. G. Sihler, Pastor Paul Schwan, and others who in his days were students at the Seminary that he was the most interesting lecturer they could imagine.

His career was a remarkable one. After having finished

his university studies, he became a teacher at one of the outstanding *Gymnasia* in Berlin and also instructor (*Privatdozent*) in the theological faculty of the University. He maintained a strong Lutheran confessional standpoint and on that account was hated and persecuted by the Liberals, especially, as I have been told, by the Jews controlling daily papers. On the other hand, he was well acquainted with some of the most prominent men of his day, among these Bismarck, Mommsen, E. Ranke, who happened to be the director (president) of the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium, where Preuss was an instructor, and others. My copy of his book *Justification* contains an autographed dedication to Dr. Ranke, and when Dr. E. G. Sihler visited Dr. Ranke in 1872, this scholar spoke to him about the Preuss affair and concluded with the statement: "As a teacher we have not as yet been able to replace him." His confessor was the well-known Berlin superintendent Dr. Carl Buechsel. Preuss was also a very gifted writer, having fashioned his style after Lessing, and an outstanding dialectician. About his articles which he published in church papers in those days I have no direct information, but the books which he wrote and edited I have in my library. He edited *Loci theologici*, the great dogmatic work of Johann Gerhard, the renowned *Examen Concilii Tridentini* of Martin Chemnitz, and Baier's *Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, which edition Dr. Walther used as a textbook for his classes before he published his own edition of Baier. He was also the editor of the third edition of G. B. Winer's valuable *Symbolics*.¹ Both his edition of Chemnitz and that of Winer indicated his interest in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. But aside from these new editions of standard

Lutheran works Preuss in his Berlin days wrote and published two outstanding monographs, one on the doctrine of justification.²⁾ Prof. C. F. W. Walther called this work, and very properly so, the best presentation of this doctrine written in the nineteenth century. In this work the author also considered the Catholic arguments against this doctrine which had resulted from a misunderstanding of the Epistle of St. James. Prof. Adolph Hoenecke, the well-known dogmatician of the Wisconsin Synod, is said to have told his students that Preuss had written the most beautiful treatise on justification by faith. At the same time the book is written in an exquisite style, and the footnotes show the deep and varied learning of the author. Even after Preuss left our Church and joined the Catholic Church, the book continued to be read with great interest and benefit, and in recent years it has been translated into English by Pastor J. A. Friedrich for our theological review. This translation has also been published in mimeographed form.³⁾ The other monograph was on the "Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary," a dogmatic and historical investigation in which Preuss showed how that doctrine gradually developed in the Catholic Church and how it would finally lead to the promulgation of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, which actually took place in 1870, several years after the book had been on the market. Very significantly Preuss dedicated this work on the flyleaf: "Jesu Christo meinem Koenig und Gott."⁴⁾ But such publications and perhaps other utterances and activities of Preuss aroused the bitter enmity of liberal circles, also in the daily press, and moral accusations were brought against him so that he felt his activities and his witnessing to the truth would not

be so successful in Germany; and knowing of the standpoint and attitude of the Missouri Synod, he planned to go to America. But also the leaders of our Church had taken notice of his publications, and when he came to America, Dr. Walther invited him to St. Louis. Walther was very careful to make sure about his record, and the testimonials which were given to him about Preuss by Ranke and Buechsel were published in our church papers.⁵⁾ The original documents are still in the library of Concordia Seminary and in the Concordia Historical Institute. I have more than once read them myself.

So Preuss began his teaching at the Seminary in 1869 and continued till January, 1872. As stated above, he was an excellent instructor and served the students with his remarkable knowledge of general and theological literature. In a book which appeared many years ago, in which prominent theologians named those books which had been of special value and importance to them in their formative years, I read a peculiar statement of Preuss as recorded by one of his students when he taught at the *Gymnasium* in Berlin, Herman L. Strack, later in life a well-known Old Testament and Talmudic scholar and critic. Preuss made the paradoxical statement: "Die Weisheit besteht in Buechertiteln," wisdom consists in the titles of books. And there is certainly some truth in such a statement, as usually in paradoxes. If one knows who has written on a certain matter and where to find something about it, he will be able to learn many things.⁶⁾

Preuss also began to write for our periodicals, and some of his writings, especially on the doctrine of inspiration and on the modern Hades theory, may well be read with profit,

although the tone of his polemics does not always appeal to me. But, as Walther stated after Preuss' defection, he was always ready to make changes in the manuscript. Unfortunately, the article on inspiration was reprinted in Germany by well-meaning friends of the Missouri Synod, but under Walther's name, and in that way the statement originated that Walther was the author.⁷⁾

But why did Preuss leave the Lutheran Church and join the Roman Catholics? This is a dark chapter, and I have not been able to get a clear picture of the situation. For details of his resignation I refer the reader to Dr. Walther's account of the matter in the *Lutheraner*.⁸⁾

Before he seceded from us, Dr. Preuss had married a Lutheran girl, a member of a very prominent family here in St. Louis, and, being married, he could, of course, not become a priest in the Catholic Church, even if he had such intentions. But his remarkable gifts were used in the very best way by the Catholics. He became an influential editor of their daily German paper *Amerika*, a journal that was also read considerably outside our city, and he continued as such editor for about thirty years. In those years I met him repeatedly and had conversations with him, of course, not about the past history. Preuss was re-baptized in a well-known German Catholic church here in St. Louis, Maria de Victoria, the victorious Mary. A memorial tablet given by him is still to be seen in that church. Later he joined another very prominent Catholic church, St. Peter and Paul's Church, not very far from his home, and was buried from that church. I still have in my files a description of his life and death as given in his paper and what was stated in the funeral oration.

But how about his most important writing against the Catholic Church on the "Immaculate Conception"? Of course, Preuss had to retract, and he wrote a second book, which was published in 1879 by the Catholic publishing house of Herder in Freiburg, Germany, with a branch in St. Louis. His name is not mentioned on the title page, but this page states that it was written in praise of the Immaculate Conception of the most blessed Virgin "by one who had heretofore blasphemed her."⁹⁾ It was published with an introduction by the Most Reverend Bishop Konrad Martin of Paderborn and was intended as a festival gift for the twenty-fifth jubilee of the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God; and at the end of the book the wording of the memorial tablet mentioned above is given in Latin, which, translated, reads as follows: "To the Blessed victorious Virgin Mary concerning a victory over himself this monument (tablet) has been placed by one who once did not blush to disparage her, but who now worships her with the most grateful and faithful heart as the most benign mother, conceived without original sin. St. Louis, on the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the year 1872."¹⁰⁾

But how about the contents of this second book? In his first writing Preuss had shown in an irrefutable way that the doctrine of the immaculate conception was wrong dogmatically and historically. And his second book I might call one of the most sophistical publications which ever came to my attention. His first presentation *could* not be refuted. History is very definite on that point, and so sophistry must take the place of historical research. And it is a very significant fact that Preuss in the closing chapter also records

why he left the Lutheran Church. He states that for some time he had felt doubts about the correctness of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith without works, especially on account of James 2, and that on one occasion, October 14, 1870, leaving the Lutheran Hospital, he had said in the "anguish of his heart to God: 'O God, if patience and good works are indeed the regal road to Thee and to life eternal, give me a sign.'" And suddenly there was a sign from heaven: "the whole horizon blazed in an unheard-of fiery red as if the city and country were aflame."¹¹⁾ And that was the deciding factor. I think this is sufficient, and every reader of this chapter will draw his own conclusions. I can also state the following on very good authority. One of his Lutheran relatives asked him after his defection: "How were you able to write what you have written in your book on the justification of the sinner before God?" Preuss answered: "Give me the sources, and I can prove anything to you."

I stated above that I repeatedly had occasion to see Dr. Preuss. Several times I called on him in his editorial room, introducing myself and asking him for some information about Catholic writings and literature which I needed in connection with my studies in Symbolics. Preuss was an old man at that time, suffering considerably from rheumatism, but very courteous, and from the wealth of his knowledge he gave me the desired and correct information.

I have also mentioned that he had married a Lutheran girl, and I was so well acquainted with a brother-in-law of his that we visited each other on our birthdays. Also some of my colleagues were present on such occasions. Sometimes also Dr. Preuss was in the house, but when we came,

he left the room in which we took our seats and sat in another room, so that I can hardly say that I met him on such occasions. I also knew his wife and am very happy to say that she remained a faithful Lutheran to her end, which came to her when she had attained quite an old age. I must record that Preuss never interfered with the convictions and the church connections of his wife, as far as I know, not even when he took that disastrous step, and, I am quite sure, he did not do so in later life, because his relatives, who had definite knowledge of the matter, have told me so time and again. But according to Catholic custom he insisted that all his children must be baptized and educated in the Catholic Church, and his wife had to suffer this, that when a child was born, it was taken to the Catholic church. But he had told his children not to interfere with their mother's religious convictions after he had passed away, using, as I have been told, the phrase, "Lasst die Mutter in Ruh'," and the children followed this wish. I have also met some of these children. His oldest son was a very gifted journalist and author, and the paper which he published, *The Review*, was on the exchange list of the *Lutheraner* in the early days of my editorship of our paper. Later on he became his father's assistant and successor in editing *Amerika*, and he also wrote a very comprehensive and learned work against the Freemasons, containing much valuable information. Preuss had four other sons; two of them became Jesuits, the other one, without joining the Jesuit order, a Catholic priest, with whom in later years the mother made her home; but this son saw to it that on Sundays she was taken in his own conveyance to the Lutheran church in order to attend services. One of his sons became an architect and in that

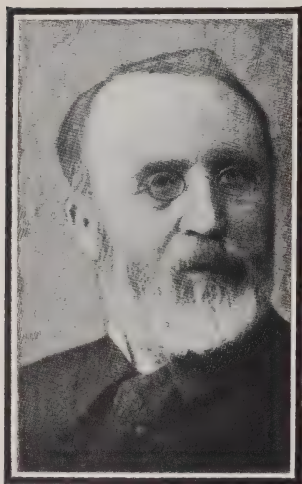
capacity was connected with the building of the well-known Catholic Kenrick Seminary in St. Louis County. I remember two daughters, one of whom I met; the other one became a nun, and at the time of her mother's death she was the superintendent of a Catholic hospital in Denver. Mrs. Preuss survived her husband about thirty years and was buried from Holy Cross Lutheran Church. As far as I know and learned from her relatives, all her living children attended the funeral, and Pastor Koenig preached a very appropriate sermon on "The Blessed Conviction of a Child of God": A Christian knows in whom he believes; and he is assured that faith and eternal life will remain with him, 2 Tim. 1:12.

AN UNFORGETTABLE CHARACTER

IN these reminiscences I must not fail to mention some of the older outstanding men in our Synod with whom I was acquainted for years. One who should certainly never be forgotten is Henry Christian Schwan, for twenty-five years a well-known official of our Central District (Vice-President, 1854—1860, and President, 1860—1878) and from 1878 to 1899, for twenty-one years, President general of our church body, der "allgemeine Heinrich," as he was sometimes called in a jocose and familiar way. But no biography of him, not even an obituary, has ever appeared in our church papers or anywhere. There is a reason for that. Just as his father, he did not want any biography. He was throughout his life a plain, simple, modest man, although, in fact, an outstanding member of our Church. And when I visited his grave in 1935, I found on his tombstone only the words "H. C. Schwan" — nothing else. That was in agreement with what he had requested of his family. I intend to follow his wish and will not write his biography even if I were able to do so. I shall give only a few dates and incidents of his life and characterize him, making use of what I heard from his own lips or from his oldest son, Pastor Paul Schwan, and what I remember

from my naturally limited contact with him. I may add that one day in his old age his son found him sitting before the stove and burning letters and documents.

Schwan was the son of a Hanoverian minister and the nephew of the well-known pioneer, father, and President of



**Dr. H. C. Schwan in His Last
Years as President of Synod**

our Church, Friedrich Wyneken. He was born April 5, 1819, in Horneburg, Hanover. I do not know anything of his education except that I heard from him that, aside from his studies in his home university in Goettingen, he spent some time at the University of Jena, where he had contact with the well-known and famous, although rationalistic, church historian Carl von Hase, and he spoke of Hase's gifts in the same way in which my father, who had studied under Hase at the University of Leipzig, expressed himself. Then he

emigrated to Brazil. How this was brought about I do not know, but as far as I was able to investigate the matter, Schwan was ordained on September 13, 1843, somewhere in Germany. He arrived in Bahia, Brazil, towards the end of 1843, got in touch with two Episcopalian pastors, had a few services in their church, confirmed a young man, and gave the Lord's Supper to some ten persons. Then he went to Leopoldina in February, 1844. Leopoldina must have

been a settlement in the neighborhood of Caravellas, Bahia, and there he seems to have spent most of his time as private tutor in the home of a German coffee planter by the name of Krull, if I am correctly informed, whose daughter he married later on. The only source for this period is a long letter written by Schwan in February, 1844, to his parents in Germany and printed in the church paper published by our Brazilian District in 1909.¹⁾ Whether he did any mission work in those days is not known to me, but I hardly think so, because not very many Germans lived in that part of the country, and conditions were not favorable for such work. (Since he knew only this northern section of the vast country and not the southern states, he was not very much in favor of our undertaking mission work in Brazil in 1900.) But after about six years he was urged by his Uncle Wyncken to come to this country and become a minister among the scattered Lutherans at a time when ministers were so sorely needed. That was in 1850, for the first time that his name is mentioned in our publications records that on September 15 in that year he was installed in the congregation of New Bielefeld, or, as it is called at the present time, Black Jack, in St. Louis County, not far from the present northern terminus of our city. Here he spent one or two very happy years. His son told me that he always recalled these years with particular pleasure, spoke about the simple life which he and his wife led in those days under very primitive conditions. Schwan himself wrote about these years in nine brief but very interesting articles during the first year when I was the managing editor of the *Lutheraner* under the title "Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines alten Buschpastors," Reminiscences of an Old Country Parson.

Only a few readers at that time recognized the writer, and I was told not to mention his name, but certainly now, after fifty years, his authorship may be stated.²⁾ If anyone nowadays will look up these articles, he will get a vivid impression of the man telling incidents of his life, how a uniform hymnbook, our own German hymnbook, was introduced when his members were accustomed to their old different hymnbooks from Germany; how rhythmic choral singing found favor in the congregation, and similar matters. Some of these reminiscences are recorded in the Low German dialect, which his people spoke in everyday life and with which he was thoroughly familiar, just as was the case with his Uncle Wyneken. To these reminiscences he always added in his inimitable way a moral, and the last sentence of the last of the nine installments records the fact that he was called to Zion Church in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1851 or 1852, giving his first impressions of that city, and closing with these words: "But of that I shall not tell anything. I only had intended to speak of my dear old country people, 'Buschleuten.' And I am still, and will gladly remain in my heart, the old country parson, 'Buschpastor.'" I may add that I urged him to continue with reminiscences, but he declined.

In Cleveland, Schwan found a great field, and he continued in that field up to the time of his election to the presidency of Synod, and after that was assistant to his son Paul as pastor of another church in Cleveland. His successor in Zion Congregation was the former foreign missionary Pastor C. M. Zorn.

Very soon his outstanding abilities were recognized, he was elected to an office, as stated above, in the Central

District, and when Dr. Walther felt it necessary to decline re-election as President of Synod on account of much other work, Schwan had become so prominent in our Church that he was elected as Walther's successor. After his retirement he spent the evening of his life quietly in his home. He passed to his reward on May 29, 1905, and was buried on Ascension Day, June 1. Dr. Pieper, who delivered the memorial address, states in a brief note in the *Lutheraner*: "Dr. Schwan — the honorary title of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by the Norwegian Seminary — was indeed not one of the first founders of Synod. He came from South America into our country after Synod had already existed three years, but very properly we count him among the fathers of Synod. He became a member of our church body when it was still in its infancy. He very soon became very familiar in our Church, and on account of the splendid gifts which God had vouchsafed him, his work soon extended into wider circles of our Church. He was one of the chief founders of our present-day flourishing Lutheran Church in Cleveland." ³⁾

I saw President Schwan for the first time when he presided at the memorable convention of 1881 in Fort Wayne, the so-called "Gnadenwahlsynode." It so happened that Schwan took over the presidency of our body just at the outbreak of the Predestination Controversy, and some of his first acts were in connection with that controversy. I remember very well from my boyhood days that in 1879 he had requested Prof. F. A. Schmidt, who may be called the originator of that controversy, and Schmidt's brother-in-law, Pastor H. A. Allwardt, to come to Frankenmuth to confer on the doctrinal matter with my father, whose thorough

theological knowledge was well known to Schwan and to Schmidt himself and whom both regarded very highly. But for reasons which I do not know or remember, Schmidt declined this invitation. In 1880 Schwan as President of our Synod called together the ministerium of our Church in that memorable General Pastoral Conference, held in September in Chicago, and intended to bring about unity in our own Church with regard to the doctrine. This was accomplished to a great extent. And thus it followed quite naturally that at the Fort Wayne convention in 1881 our Synod took a firm stand in the matter by the adoption of the well-known thirteen theses with regard to the doctrine of predestination and after the close of the convention held a second General Pastoral Conference. In connection with the able leadership especially of Walther, Pieper, and Stoeckhardt as the theologians in St. Louis, it was undoubtedly also due to the careful management of Schwan that the happy and blessed result was attained not only for our own church body, but for the Lutheran Church in America. When Synod assembled again in 1884 in St. Louis, the text for President Schwan's presidential address was very fittingly Ps. 126:3: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad." And in 1887, in Fort Wayne, he called attention in his address to Acts 9:31: "Then had the churches rest . . . and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

The convention of 1884 was the second time I saw Schwan in the presidential chair. At that time I was a student at the Seminary, and already in those days he impressed me with his outstanding ability as a parliamen-

tarian. This I noticed even more in the succeeding years, when I was able to attend all general conventions of Synod, and also, after I had entered the ministry, in his active participation in the District conventions in Michigan. But before this I had received words of encouragement from that venerable man when he was present at one of the catechetical exercises at St. Louis and I had to catechize boys from Holy Cross School on a section of the Catechism. I also had to preach for the first time at a synodical convention when the Michigan District convened in Adrian and Schwan was in the audience. And especially after I had been called to St. Louis and Schwan came to the Seminary to hold the regular visitation, he always also called at my home; and when I asked him to criticize my lectures which he had attended, he did that in a very frank and cordial way, which I shall never forget. He was a gentleman from head to foot. He knew when to speak, and he knew also when to be silent. Pastoral wisdom was an outstanding factor in his make-up.

But I think I got to know him best as a young minister, when at the District conventions he sat with us in the respective parsonages and told us of happenings in his life, in his ministry in Cleveland, and in his office as President. Everything was to the point, brief but clear-cut, and I could record a number of instances. I remember at one time a discussion arose about the constitutions of congregations. (And everyone knows that quite often considerable time is spent on the floor of synodical conventions in order to correct unnecessary and sometimes even wrong paragraphs.) Schwan told us how he proceeded with the formulation of such a constitution in his first congregation. The whole con-

stitution consisted of two brief paragraphs, and both were very satisfactory and acceptable to his people. The first paragraph read like this: "Everything regarding religious matters and matters of conscience is to be settled among us by the Word of God and the Lutheran Confessions." And the second paragraph: "Everything else that has to be arranged and ordered and followed is to be done according to the law of love." He also used to illustrate, especially for the lay delegates, the progress in Christianity, and again I must say, in his brief, clear, inimitable way he said: "First Christianity enters the head, and one learns Christian doctrine and practice. Then it enters the heart, and one becomes a true Christian, accepting God as his Father and Jesus Christ as his personal Savior. And finally the Christian religion enters the pocket and the pocketbook and urges the Christian to be a cheerful and willing giver for his Church." In conventions, in church gatherings, and in private contact, he was always the thoroughly evangelical fatherly adviser.

I have just mentioned that he was an evangelical man. That is true to the letter. There was nothing legalistic about him. Even as a comparatively young man he led the doctrinal discussions at a convention of the Central District in 1862, and his thirty-two theses against unevangelical practice were printed in the Report of the Eighth Convention of that District and are being used to the present day.

I also remember very well how highly Schwan regarded our Dr. Pieper. Perhaps he got to know him so well because he was quite often associated with him at synodical conventions, outside the general conventions of Synod and faculty meetings, and in Pieper's early years they traveled

together, especially to the Southern District, Schwan as General President of Synod and Pieper as essayist. It is but natural that both men were attracted to each other, because they had some outstanding traits in common. And I know that Schwan was particularly pleased when, after he felt that he should decline a re-election to the presidency in 1899, Pieper was elected as his successor. At that convention I saw him for the last time, because, as far as I know, he hardly ever left Cleveland after that year.

Schwan did not write very much, but two things must be remembered. As a separate publication I can only recall one of the first and best tracts against lodgery, originating in his congregational experiences, *Zwei Reden wider die geheimen Gesellschaften*. But notable were his presidential addresses at the conventions of our general body, which are printed in the respective synodical reports, and his outstanding sermons which he delivered at the District conventions and which were usually printed in the *Lutheraner* in the same or in the following year. The other outstanding work was his explanation of Luther's Catechism, which even at this writing is still being used as a textbook in our schools and confirmation classes. Synod itself commissioned Schwan to write that exposition in 1890. A proof print was published in our *Schulblatt*, and a large committee, consisting of the theological faculty of the Seminary in St. Louis, representatives of our teachers' college, then at Addison — the representatives were Director Krauss and Prof. Theodore Brohm — and several teachers, of whom I remember Teacher Leutner of Cleveland, examined and discussed the work and presented it to the Church in 1896, when it was unanimously adopted. It so happened that I had just be-

come a young instructor at the Seminary in St. Louis when these most interesting and for me personally most valuable meetings took place. And for many years I kept my notes on these discussions. I think all pastors and teachers of our Church will agree with me that Schwan's Catechism was really a handbook which filled the want after a universal request had been voiced that a textbook should be briefer and more simple than Dietrich's Catechism, which had been used in German and English up to that time. The publication of Schwan's Catechism is indeed a landmark in the history of our Synod.

But I must at least mention another happening in Schwan's life which should not be forgotten. It has been reported off and on in our church periodicals, by myself and others, and I have the direct and accurate information on this matter in a letter from Schwan's own son Paul. Schwan was the first one to introduce the Christmas tree in church, and this took place in the fifties in Cleveland. It caused a real sensation in the city. To some extent it became the talk of the town. In those days of very pronounced Reformed, unliturgical ideas it was considered almost a sacrilege that a special day aside from the Puritan Sabbath should be observed in church, and, above all things, that the sanctuary should be "desecrated" by the introduction of a Christmas tree, decorated, undoubtedly, in the usual way. Schwan even had constructed the story of Bethlehem in little figures under the Christmas tree, and that especially was regarded almost as an abomination. Even in factories members of Schwan's church were accosted, and to some the intimation was given that they could hardly continue in their factory employment if they were in har-

mony with such execrable practices. What a change has taken place since those days!

Schwan never wrote, to my knowledge, long letters. I have seen few letters from his pen, but whenever it was possible and feasible, he wrote postal cards, and I have several of his cards in my files. In this way he settled and arranged matters which nowadays would require a journey from New York to Chicago. Perhaps he went a little too far in that respect, but, generally speaking, his attitude was correct. Just lately I read in a short biographical sketch of Dr. Mackay, the president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, this statement: "Has doubt as to the value of so many conferences." And I must say that I also sometimes have the conviction that it would not be harmful, but rather better for the Church if fewer letters were written, fewer journeys undertaken, and fewer meetings held. I know that we are no longer living in the "horse-and-buggy" days, but considerable time, energy, and money could be saved, and the Church would be benefited, if more time would be spent on serious and thoroughgoing studies and careful and extended pastoral care, *Seelsorge*, and missionary endeavors. Schwan did not try to do too much, did not engage in everything and rush into it, but waited till it came to him, considered it carefully, and then acted. This sometimes created the impression that he was not interested in certain matters, but it was pastoral prudence and wisdom which moved him not to do and to write too much and arouse antagonism. That he did not shirk his duty is clear from the careful guidance of our church body in distressing days.

His wife, the daughter of that Brazilian planter, I met only once and very briefly, but I know that she maintained

a lively interest in the country of her birth, invited Pastor W. Mahler, the first President of our Brazilian District, to visit her on his first return to the United States in 1908 and requested him to send her a Portuguese paper. His oldest son, Paul, who for many years was pastor in Cleveland, I knew quite well. Also another son entered the ministry in Wisconsin, but later resigned from the ministry. Two of his sons studied law, the older one, Emanuel, became a corporation attorney in New York and was quite well known. The younger one, George, I knew very well in my college days in Fort Wayne and also met him repeatedly in later life. He studied theology for one year in St. Louis, but decided to become a lawyer. He also became quite prominent, held the position of prosecuting or city attorney in Cleveland and later was elected judge.

I shall never forget that venerable, lovable third President of our church body, H. C. Schwan.

HOMEWARD BOUND

TODAY, January 15, 1943, I am writing the closing chapter of these reminiscences. I am now well over 78 years of age. The evening of my life is here, and I know and realize that the end cannot be far off. I am still active and am able to do my work, and I have every reason to be very grateful to my God and Lord that I am in a position to do this, because I feel that work is a great blessing for sinful man; but it stands to reason that very soon either my physical or mental powers will fail me, and retirement is just a question of weeks and months.

Of the almost fifty years of my activity at the Seminary the first twenty-five were the happiest. The last ten years I had to reduce my teaching periods, other responsibilities weighed heavy on me, and the conditions in the Church gave me much concern. Oh, that our Church may remain faithful to its confessional standpoint in doctrine and practice!

I am looking back on a long life, and I can never be sufficiently grateful for what my Lord and Savior has done for me in my life, and I am also grateful to my friends and co-laborers in the Church and to the many students that I have taught. I have been privileged to be in the service



President F. Pfothhauer at the Convention in Fort Wayne in 1923

of our Church for almost fifty-eight years. Many of my friends have already passed away, especially in the last few years. Of my 29 classmates in 1885, only 3 are still living, and all are retired: Dr. Frederick Graebner in faraway Australia, who never fails to send me a Christmas greeting; Pastor Arthur E. Michel in Los Angeles, whom I saw for the last time in 1938; and the Norwegian Pastor Paul Koren, from whom I hear off and on through visitors, but whom I have not seen for many years.

Some of the deaths during these later years have indeed been a great and distinct loss to me. I need only to mention Dr. Frederick Pfothhauer, Dr. E. A. Mayer, Dr. Richard Kretzschmar, Dr. Ferdinand Rupprecht, Dr. Theo. Buenger. But there are still quite a number of friends who are of about the same age and whom I see quite frequently: My respected and dear colleague Dr. Theodore Engelder; my oldtime friend since the days when we both entered Quinta in Fort Wayne in 1877, Dr. Frederick Brand, the present Director of Foreign Missions; Dr. William H. T. Dau, who visited our institution and delivered some lectures in April, 1942, and with whom I correspond more or less regularly; Dr. William Dallmann, who is as alert and active as ever, reading and writing on Luther and the Reformation period in his well-known way; Dr. Edmund Seuel, the manager of Concordia Publishing House. All five were members of the Seminary graduating class of 1886. But I am happy to say that also quite a number of younger men, many of whom have been my students in former years, are quite close and very dear to me.

In looking back upon my life, I must praise and adore the unmerited grace of our Lord. One of my frequent

prayers is that the Lord will not remember the sins of my youth, yes, and not only of my youth, but also of my middle age and of my old age, sins which come to my mind. But I know and firmly believe that they are washed away by the blood of my Savior and that the Lord, according to His wonderful loving-kindness and grace, will not remember them, but has cast them into the depths of the sea. One of my favorite psalms in these days besides Psalm 103 is Psalm 71, in which I read twice the prayer to the Lord: "Cast me not off in the time of my old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth." He has been very good to me these long years in many a way. He has given me pious and devout parents, who brought me up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and who watched over me with their prayers every day as long as they lived. My brother and sisters made my younger years very pleasant, but during the last fifty years I was not able to see them very often; and all of them have gone before me.

I am especially grateful to God for my own family. This is not the place to record my feelings. I shall simply state that I cannot sufficiently express in words what my devoted wife, Anna, whom I married November 5, 1896, has been to me for more than forty-six years, and what my children have meant to me, although they are pretty well scattered over the globe: Clara Reinke on Long Island, New York; Alfred in Seward, Nebr.; Irmgard Zorn in faraway India; Otto in New York City; only one, Agnes, is with us at home. But our children come back more or less frequently, and the grandchildren are a source of great joy to me. May God bless them all and keep them on the straight way so that we shall meet again in eternal life.

God has blessed me with good health throughout my life. Although I never was very robust, I have never been seriously sick, and also several minor operations did not interfere much with my work. I also never had any great cares and worries with regard to the necessary means of livelihood and subsistence, and never had to approach any one in any such matter. Also for this I am very thankful to God and also to my parents, who had seen days of poverty and brought me up in the "simple life," emphasizing that I should never contract any debts and never buy anything for which I would not be able to pay at the same time or which I would not need. And in my work I have been very happy. I am glad that I was privileged to be in the ministry for eight years, and I still regard the ministry as the highest calling. Therefore I have also tried to do some ministerial work while in St. Louis, preaching and ministering to small congregations in the neighborhood, sometimes as their regular pastor, as in Jonesburg, Mo., in Bismarck, Iron Mountain, Pilot Knob, and Ironton, Mo., and also during vacancies which sometimes extended over several years. But I was particularly happy in my teaching and am very grateful that I was able to continue that work for so many years; and one of the most cherished reminiscences is my dealing with my students during their years at the Seminary and in later life. I can hardly realize that their number is so large, over 4,000. And also for that reason I always enjoy our conferences and conventions, because this affords me a chance to meet some of my former students; and correspondence with a considerable number of them asking for information and advice has been and still is quite voluminous,

This teaching work, of course, necessitated study, and I have often regretted that I could not devote even more time to my studies, especially Biblical studies. Quite frequently I declined invitations, which otherwise I would have liked to accept, in order not to lose too much time which should be devoted to study.

I have also been singularly blessed in the fact that I had very able colleagues. When I became a member of the faculty, Drs. Pieper, Stoeckhardt, and A. L. Graebner were my older colleagues, and I naturally looked up to them, listened to what they had to say, and learned from them. They were always very kind to me, as I have indicated in earlier chapters of these memoirs. Very soon Professors Frederick Bente and George Mezger became my colleagues, Bente in 1893, Mezger in 1896, and it was but natural that since the difference in our ages was not great, we became good friends. For thirty-three years Professor Bente lived in the same house with me, though separated by a thick wall. Our children grew up together and were intimate friends, and although he and I were quite different, we were quite close to each other, and I stated more than once that I would like to live next door to him for the rest of my life. So was Mezger very close to me, especially in the twenty-five years before he went to Germany in 1923. He was very often my confidant and adviser, and I have tried to pay a little tribute to both of them in articles in the *Lutheraner*.¹⁾

Then in 1905 Dr. William H. T. Dau joined the faculty, already a friend in my student days, and Dr. E. A. W. Krauss, of whom I also gave some reminiscences in the *Lutheraner*.²⁾

In 1912 Prof. Edward Pardieck became a member of the faculty, whom I also knew in my college days, although he was about five years younger, but in 1920 he had to relinquish all work on account of illness and died in 1926.³⁾

And then followed, since 1913, the younger men of our faculty, who are known to all my readers, although they are no longer young men, and all of whom with the exception of Dr. Sommer, Dr. Engelder, and Professor Heintze had been my students. (Prof. Richard W. Heintze, who had been instructor at our Bronxville Collegiate Institute for many years, joined the faculty in 1926, but passed away in 1937.⁴⁾ He was called chiefly as librarian, but also lectured on church history.) While it is only natural that some of my colleagues were closer to me on account of more contact and similar work, I must say, and I say it with a grateful heart, that all of them were always very kind and courteous to me. But this would be another story.

During these many years I have been able to visit many parts of our great and beautiful country, especially in summertime. I have always been a great lover of nature, and whenever I had a chance to do so, I traveled to new sections, also in the interest of our Church, in order to familiarize myself with church conditions in different localities, which proved to be of great help to me in my position at the Seminary and as editor and contributor to our church periodicals. During the past twenty years I have quite often spoken of these travels in the *Lutheraner* and tried to picture those church conditions, combining the history of by-gone days and present-day conditions, and including also observations and reminders which seemed to me to be necessary. Naturally I have also longed to see foreign

countries, but I was able to visit only Europe, especially Germany, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. At that time I thought I would undertake such a trip at least every five years, but that did not come true. Once I happened to be already in New York, but was called back. Neither did other journeys that I should have taken at different periods of my life materialize. Three times I had been asked to go to India, once to China, once to Australia, but I never got there. However, I am very happy that I was able to see so much of our own beloved country and of Canada and to see so many beautiful scenes in mountain regions, on lakes, at the ocean, and on the plains.

But someone might ask what I did in rarely occurring leisure hours and for relaxation. I have always liked to read, especially history, and in history above all biography, and I cannot state sufficiently how much I learned from the lives of great men, especially theologians of the Lutheran Church, but also of other scholars and of statesmen. I have also been interested considerably in the fine arts, especially in music and in paintings. Even in my advanced years I still attend symphony and choral concerts and play not only the music which I receive for review, but also Bach's chorales and Beethoven's sonatas, and visit the art galleries not only in my own city, but also elsewhere, particularly in Chicago and in New York. But I must also confess that not everything in modern art, in painting as well as in music, appeals to me, and quite often I look at paintings and listen to music in a more or less pathological interest. I fully appreciate that modern painting as exemplified in Germany, France, England, and other countries has done much for art. Quite frequently it has opened my eyes

to the beauties of nature. But I have also found more than once that modern paintings are horrible, more or less of what we would call in German *Kleckerei*, paintings which I would not care to have on my wall, and then I am glad to study old masters and good artists of the nineteenth century. Cubism, Dadaism, post-impressionism and other "isms" do not appeal to me. And the same holds true of music. I have listened to much of modern music, and I do not deny in the least that I quite often hear something that is worth while. It is a new departure, but I am not at all opposed to everything new if the composer has something worth while to say. I fully appreciate some, not all, of the works of Richard Wagner, Richard Strauss, Jan Sibelius, P. I. Tschaikovsky, and other modern masters, but at the same time I must say that I am pretty sure that much of modern music will be forgotten, and the sooner, the better. I often agree with the noted professor of aesthetics and the history of music at the University of Vienna Edward Hanslick, the interpreter and defender of the music of Palestrina and Bach, of Mendelssohn and Brahms. Somewhere in his writings he speaks against modern revolutionary "Parsifalistic" pretenders and their "profound" music "that leads us around in dusky, stony chasms of Hamlets and Manfreds, Ibsen and Schopenhauer, in which unaffected cheerfulness is extinct, hale and hearty naturalness is forbidden, charming melody is a crime." And I am not swayed in my opinion by modern musical critics. More than once I have found that critics speak against their better conviction. On one occasion I walked, after a concert which I had attended, in front of the best critic of the city, and he remarked to a friend, referring to the program, "der gute alte Beethoven."

(I think the *Eroica* of that famous composer had been played by the orchestra.) And with regard to a modern work which I do not recall he stated, "Das kann mir gestohlen werden." But I was rather surprised to read the next day in the review how he praised that very work. There is very often a coterie which cannot be downed. On another occasion a conductor complained to me about a modern work, stating that it was full of "horrible dissonances." I asked him, "Well, why do you play it?" He answered: "The women on our board want to be modern, ultramodern, and simply demand it."

Since my college days I have always enjoyed reading poetry, but I have not written any poems since my grammar school days, when my sisters were the objects of my effusions. I soon found out that the spark was not in me, and I did not care to write mere prose in rhymes. There are too many poor poets in the world. Adolf von Harless, one of the outstanding conservative Lutheran theologians of the nineteenth century, whom some of our fathers considered the greatest Lutheran theologian of that period, has a fine remark in his beautiful essay on "Christianity and Poetry." He says in the closing paragraph: "We are all comparable to the people still wandering through the desert. The eye of the Christian beholds through faith the promised land; but body and soul are still encompassed by the dust and burning heat of the desert. Before us walks the One who came down from heaven as the true Bread of Life; but divine mercy does not permit us to lack even today a different manna coming down upon the desert like dew and making us brave through earthly food. These are the gifts of art which God gives and which no man can give

.

to himself. And to him who does not on their account neglect the rest of the Sabbath also this may be granted that he, refreshed and strengthened by their power, leaves the plains of the Moabites and ascends the mountains, from which his eye in the twilight of distance beholds Canaan. Blessed is he whom art leads to such heights! But he to whom art becomes an alluring voice drawing him backwards to the desert, should learn renunciation, whether he finds the artists alienated from Christianity or not. For everything is yours, but you are Christ's. 'All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any,' 1 Cor. 6:12." ⁵⁾ Luther remarks in one of his letters to Eobanus Hessus, a noted scholar and instructor in his days: "I confess that I am one of those whom poems move stronger and delight more and to which they cling firmer than prose (*ungebundene Rede*), even if it should be a Cicero or a Demosthenes." ⁶⁾ I do not know what Luther had in mind when he penned these words, but I know that he has expressed a thought which many share. And just as I still attend concerts, so I still read poetry. But I cannot say that much of the most modern poetry appeals to me. Quite often, when reading it, I ask myself: What does that man or that woman really want to say? Has he something to say? Or does he merely favor the "cult of the unintelligible"?

And now I am at the close of this chapter. Adolf von Harless, of whom I spoke above, wrote, without mentioning his name, a fascinating brief autobiographical sketch, *Fragments from the Life of a Bavarian Theologian*.⁷⁾ He also

published a little volume of exquisite poems, some of which I read again and again.⁸⁾ And in one of these, entitled *Taking Leave* (*Ein Abschiedsabend*), he writes beautiful lines suggested by the ringing of the vesper bell, a fine custom some of our older congregations observe to the present day and which I also found in that quaint old village in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where I listened to the chimes playing Henry Francis Lyte's famous and beautiful "Abide with Me, Fast Falls the Eventide." The lines of Harless cannot be translated acceptably, and so I must give them in German:

Den letzten Abend
Laeut auch, o Glock', mir ein.
Auf Glockenklaengen
Trag mir die Seele mein,
In Heimweh fromm verklaert,
Zum Heim, das ewig waehrt.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. For more information on this circle of students in Leipzig which had such an important bearing upon the history of our Church and on the Buenger family, see Walther's *Kurzer Lebenslauf des weiland ehrwuerdigen Pastor Joh. Friedr. Buenger*. St. Louis. 1882. (A reprint from *Lutheraner*, 38, 41.)
2. *The Concordia Cyclopedia*. P. 276.
3. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*. St. Louis. 1915. Vol. I, 24, 36, 54, 194, 195.
4. J. F. Koestering, *Auswanderung der saechsichen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838*. St. Louis. 1866. P. 32.
5. *Lutheraner*, 49 (1893), 155.

Chapter 2

1. *Casualpredigten und Reden von Dr. C. F. W. Walther*. St. Louis. 1889. P. 472.

Chapter 3

1. "Erinnerungen an T. H. Lamprecht." *Lutheraner*, 84 (1928), 195.

Chapter 4

1. *Irrfahrten und Heimfahrten*. Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben. Buffalo. 1910.

Chapter 6

1. According to James H. Brookes' *A Memoir*. By David Riddle Williams. St. Louis. 1897. Brookes undertook that journey to Europe in 1861. His sojourn in Paris and in Switzerland is recorded in that biography.
2. *Lutheraner*, 88 (1932), 144.

Chapter 9

1. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. II, p. 120.
2. *Twenty-seventh Synodical Report of the Western District*, 1886, page 9.
3. *Twenty-seventh Synodical Report of the Western District*, 1886, page 58.

Chapter 11

1. "Dr. C. F. W. Walther als Theologe," *Lehre und Wehre*, 34 (1888), 97.
2. *Lutheraner*, 87 (1931), 250.

Chapter 12

1. *Dr. theol. Georg Stoeckhardt*. Second edition: Von der Anklagebank zum Katheder. Lebensbild des deutsch-amerikanischen Theologen Dr. Georg Stoeckhardt. Zwickau. 1914.
2. *Das Schlachtfeld von Sedan*. Erinnerungen aus dem Kriegsjahr von G. Stoeckhardt. Reprinted from *Die Abendschule*. Zwickau. 1914.
3. C. F. W. Walther, *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Epistelpostille*, St. Louis, p. 20. The sermon was preached on the 17th Sunday after Trinity, 1878.
4. "Schriftbeweis fuer die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl." *Lehre und Wehre*, 26 (1880), 176.
5. *Die Evangelischen Perikopen des Kirchenjahrs, in Predigtstudien ausgelegt*. Konstanz. 1932.

Chapter 13

1. *Dr. C. F. W. Walther*. Lebensbild, entworfen von Martin Guenther.

Chapter 14

1. "Der Materialismus oder die sogenannten Resultate der modernen Naturwissenschaft." *Lehre und Wehre*, 9 (1863), 65.
2. "Was bedeuten die Worte im Bekenntnis, dass sich der Mensch in seiner Bekehrung *pure passive* verhalte?" *Lehre und Wehre*, 29 (1883), 161.
3. *The St. Louis Theological Monthly*, 2, 204.
4. *Lutheraner*, 44 (1888), 33.
5. *Lieder und Gedichte von Gottlieb Schaller*. St. Louis. 1891.

Chapter 15

1. *Lutheraner*, 39 (1883), 137, 140; 38 (1882), 155, 171, 186; 39 (1883), 4, 12, 43.

Chapter 17

1. *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, 4 (1916), pp. 283, 287.
2. "Pastoralkonferenzen." *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 7 (1936), p. 644.

Chapter 19

1. *Theodor Kolde* von Dr. Hermann Jordan, 1914, p. 20.
2. *A Creed for Free Men*, p. 189.

Chapter 21

1. *Lutheraner*, 60 (1904), p. 401; 61 (1905), p. 3.
2. *Dr. Martin Luther*, Milwaukee, 1883.
3. *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in Amerika*, St. Louis, 1892.
4. *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, 6 (1933), pp. 14, 17.
5. "Der Kampf um das Sola Gratia," *Lehre und Wehre*, 40 (1894), p. 9. "Die aelteste lutherische Gemeinde in Amerika" (St. Matthew's in New York), *Lehre und Wehre*, 37 (1891), p. 12. "Ueber Eheschliessung und Ehescheidung," *Lehre und Wehre*, 34 (1888), p. 6.
6. *Populaere Beleuchtung des "Erachtens der theologischen Fakultät zu Rostock ueber die Lehre der Wisconsinssynode von der Gnadenwahl."* Milwaukee, 1884. *Die synergistisch-rationalisierende Stellung der theologischen Fakultät zu Rostock gegenueber der Lehre der Konkordienformel von Bekehrung und Gnadenwahl.* Milwaukee, 1885.

Chapter 22

1. *Kurzer Lebenslauf des weiland ehrwuerdigen Pastor Joh. Friedr. Buenger.* St. Louis, 1882. P. 88.

Chapter 23

1. *Gustav Seyffarth. Eine biographische Skizze.* — The literary life of Gustavus Seyffarth. New York, 1886.
2. *Gustav Seyffarth, der erste Professor fuer aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde an der Universitaet Leipzig.* Sein Leben und der Versuch einer gerechten Wuerdigung seiner Taetigkeit auf dem Gebiete der Aegyptologie.
3. *Lehre und Wehre*, 9 (1863), p. 384; 10, p. 53.
4. *Lehre und Wehre*, 8 (1862), p. 105; 9 (1863), pp. 33, 79, 118, 142, 186, etc. *Lutheraner* 19 (1863), pp. 89, 97, 106, 113, etc. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. I, p. 125.

Chapter 24

1. *Geschichte der lutherischen Kirche in Amerika*, p. 195.
2. *Morphologie des Luthertums*. Muenchen, 1932. II, p. 277.
3. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. I, pp. 204, 223, 225, 228, 232. Cp. also p. 162.
4. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. I, p. 162.
5. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. I, pp. 164, 166.
6. *Amerikanisch-Lutherische Evangelienpostille*. St. Louis, 1870. P. 398.

Chapter 25

1. *Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchenparteien*. Berlin, 1866.
2. *Die Rechtfertigung des Suenders vor Gott*. Berlin, 1868.
3. *Theological Monthly*, 8 (1928), p. 33.
4. *Die Roemische Lehre von der unbefleckten Empfaengnis, aus den Quellen dargestellt und aus Gottes Wort widerlegt*. Berlin, 1865.
5. *Lehre und Wehre*, 15 (1869), pp. 203, 224. *Briefe von C. F. W. Walther*, Vol. II, pp. 157, 214.
6. F. Zimmer, *Buecherkleinode evangelischer Theologen*. Gotha, 1888.
7. "Was lehren die neueren orthodox sein wollenden Theologen von der Inspiration?" *Lehre und Wehre*, 17 (1871), p. 33.
8. *Lutheraner*, 28 (1872), pp. 73, 83.
9. Zum Lobe der unbefleckten Empfaengnis der allerseligsten Jungfrau, title page.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 227.
11. *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

Chapter 26

1. *Ev.-Luth. Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerika*, 4 (1909), p. 26.
2. *Lutheraner*, 53 (1897), p. 30.
3. *Lutheraner*, 61 (1905), p. 198.

Chapter 27

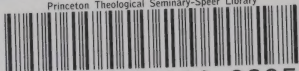
1. *Lutheraner*, 86 (1930), p. 439; 87 (1931), 378.
2. *Lutheraner*, 80 (1924), p. 402.
3. *Lutheraner*, 82 (1926), pp. 107, 128.
4. *Lutheraner*, 93 (1937), p. 135.
5. *Das Verhaeltnis des Christentums zu Kultur- und Lebensfragen der Gegenwart — Christentum und Dichtkunst*, p. 23.
6. St. Louis Edition, XXIa:2182.
7. *Bruchstuecke aus dem Leben eines sueddeutschen Theologen*. 1872, 1874.
8. *Aus dem Leben in Lied und Spruch*, 1863, p. 24.



Date Due

[illegible]

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01039 8305